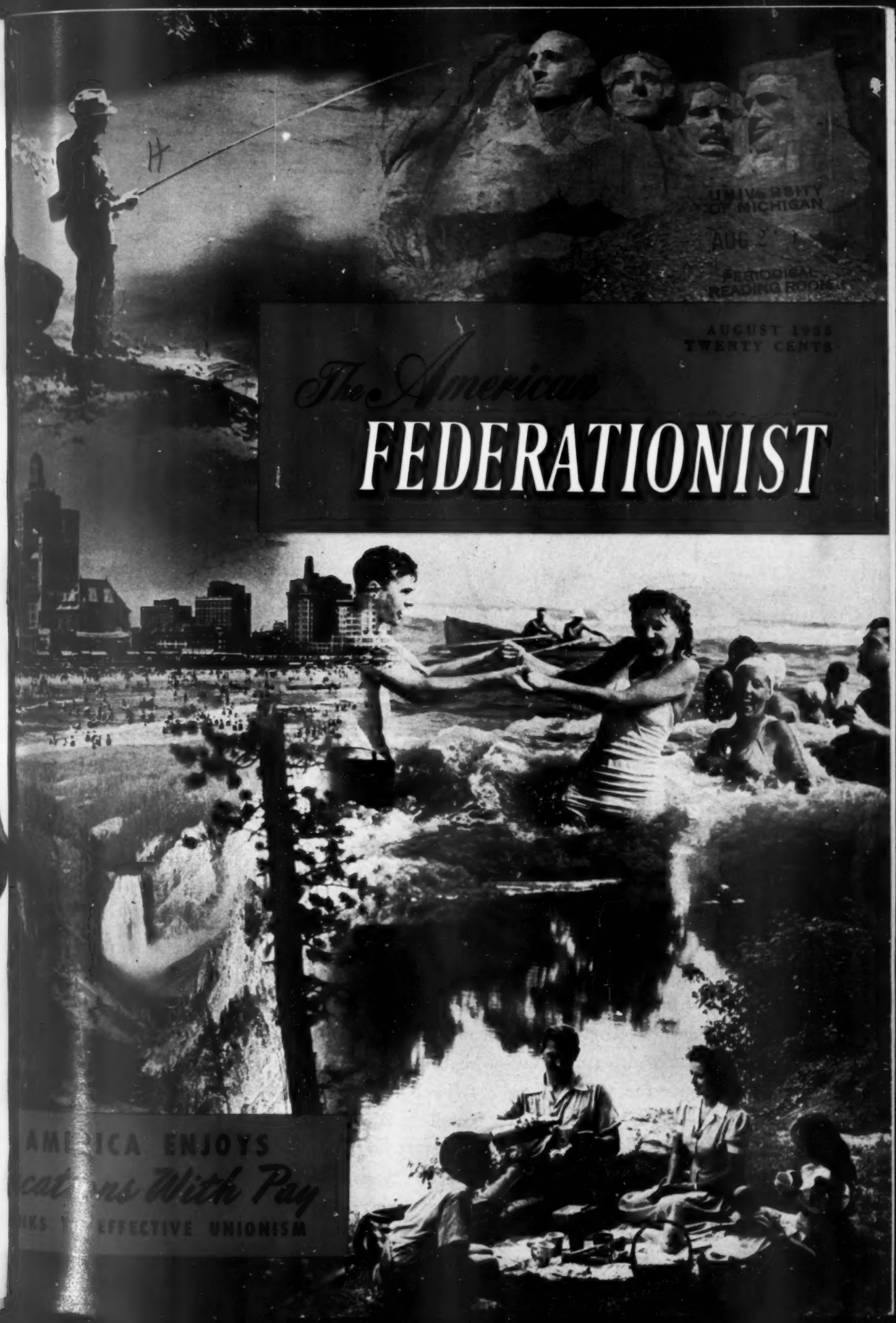
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"See you at the Union Meeting"

YOU DON'T WANT your union to be flabby and impotent. You want it to be vigorous and effective. You know that a vigorous and effective union means important benefits for you and your fellow members—higher wages, better conditions, more security. A union becomes vigorous and effective only when its members are sincerely interested in its affairs not only at new-contract time but through the twelve months of the year. If you expect your union to do a job for you, remember that you must do your part by being a *real* trade unionist all the time. If you want to make economic progress, you must help constantly to strengthen your union. One way to do your part is by attending your meetings *regularly*.

The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

AUGUST, 1955 | GEORGE MEANY, *Editor* | Vol. 62, No. 8

In This Issue

'Right to Work'

Recognizing the role of the trade union movement in working for a freer and better world for the worker as well as the rest of the community, spiritual leaders cannot remain quiet in the face of legislation which seeks to destroy this force for good.

The so-called "right to work" laws, no matter what their title, seek the destruction of the trade union movement, the abrogation of democratic rights which it has taken decades to secure and the undermining of one of the strongest pillars of American democracy. They do so by outlawing union security arrangements which enable trade unions to enlist the widest moral and financial support for their policies, thus increasing their collective bargaining strength.

Experience has shown that the best results are achieved when labor and management, having been insured the proper atmosphere, are permitted to work out their own economic destinies. "Right-to-work" laws are the very negation of this most salutary principle; they amount to the government telling the parties most concerned that they may not agree to a particular type of arrangement believed by both parties to be both sound and fair. This, I believe, is harmful to the economy and harmful to a sense of morality and justice.

Union security agreements are merely devices whereby an attempt is made to distribute the cost of unionism among all the persons who receive its benefits. Under such circumstances, can it be said that there is a moral or any other justifiable right to be free not to join the union and to be a "free rider"?

Since unions are required by law to represent all workers equally and without discrimination—a requirement which is proper—the states should not be permitted to prohibit fair and equal contributions to those same unions by workers who reap the benefits of such representation.

Rev. Dr. Israel Goldstein.

Make your voluntary contribution today to Labor's League for Political Education

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TWENTY YEARS OF SOCIAL SECURITY

By GEORGE MEANY
President, American Federation of Labor

MR. MEANY

AUGUST 14 will mark the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the first Social Security Act. On that date in 1935, with President Franklin D. Roosevelt's signature, the Wagner-Lewis-Doughton bill became law. On the occasion of his signing the measure the President said:

"Today a hope of many years' standing is in large part fulfilled. The civilization of the past hundred years, with its startling industrial changes, has tended more and more to make life insecure. Young people have come to wonder what would be their lot when they come to old age. The man with a job has wondered how long the job would last.

"This social security measure gives at least some protection to 30,000,000 of our citizens who will reap direct benefits through unemployment compensation, through old-age pensions and through increased services for the protection of children and the prevention of ill health.

"We can never insure 100 per cent of the population against 100 per cent of the hazards and vicissitudes of life, but we have tried to frame a law which will give some measure of protection to the average citizen and to his family against the loss of a job and against poverty-ridden old age. * * * If the Senate and the House of Representatives in their long and arduous session had done nothing more than pass this bill, the session would be regarded as historic for all time."

Anniversaries of this kind can be useful as occasions for measuring the progress made toward the original goals and for reviewing and re-evaluating the basic principles on which we determined to build our social security system.

The passage of the Social Security Act of 1935 was the result of many forces. Though we might agree with those who claim it marked the high tide of New Deal legislative achievements, it can in no sense be considered wholly a product of the New Deal. As early as 1922 Abraham Epstein had aroused public opinion by his classic study, "Facing Old Age," and in the years following continued to provide inspired leadership to the American Association for Social Security.

Even prior to the depression a change in public opinion was becoming evident. For example, eight states had acts permitting counties to pay old-age pensions, and two of them, Wisconsin and Minnesota, provided state aid to the counties which did so. Older people found it increasingly difficult to find jobs, and such organizations as the Fraternal Order of Eagles were providing popular leadership in the movement for old-age security. By 1934 the number of states having old-age pension programs had increased to thirty, of which only five remained as optional.

In 1921 the country had been shocked by unemployment which cost nearly a quarter of the wage-earners in industry their jobs. But the shock was too short-lived to stimulate development of any basic corrective measures. By 1923 the country was back to "normalcy," which as applied to unemployment meant between 7 and 10 per cent of the work force. Unemployment hovered near that figure until the beginning of the depression.

As it became apparent in the early 1930s that unemployment was not going to disappear as it so conveniently had done ten years earlier, organizations like the American Association for Labor Legislation began to develop plans to meet the problem. The Wisconsin group developed the theory of employer responsibility and early in 1932 succeeded in getting a law enacted in that state incorporating that principle and the separate company reserve. Meanwhile, Franklin D. Roosevelt, as governor of New York, proposed a program of unemployment insurance at the Governors' Conference of 1930, and a year later called a conference of governors of seven Eastern states for the purpose of jointly working out a program.

In Ohio in 1932 a State Commis-

sion had brought out a very comprehensive report on the extent of unemployment, and at its convention in Cincinnati that year the American Federation of Labor came out with a direct and powerful endorsement of compulsory unemployment insurance.

By 1934 the most conservative government reports were indicating upwards of 11,000,000 totally unemployed out of a work force of 52,200,000—or about two out of every nine workers. THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST reported that in July of that year nearly two out of three (64.9 per cent) of the building and construction tradesmen were unemployed, as were 37.4 per cent of the miners, 36.2 per cent of railroad workers and 27.4 per cent of those engaged in manufacturing. Moreover, many of those who had jobs were working only part time. The average hours worked in manufacturing in 1934 were 34.6 per week at an average weekly wage of $18.40. (The comparable figures for 1954 are 40.7 hours for an average wage of $76.11). The membership of A. F. of L. unions that year was 2,600,000, the lowest—with the exception of 1933—it had been since 1917.

It is no wonder that in this atmosphere all sorts of radical proposals were made. No doubt with the best of intentions, Dr. Francis Townsend brought forward his plan under which all persons over the age of 60, irrespective of their personal means, were to receive $200 a month, providing only that they retired from employment and that they agreed to spend the money every month. Brushing aside the realities of simple arithmetic, millions of people put their names to petitions asking Congress to adopt the plan, and in early 1935 Dr. Townsend testified that there were no less than 3,000 Townsend groups in existence, with an average membership of 350 persons.

Equally unrealistic proposals were brought forward to meet the problem of unemployment. One such plan, advocated by various left-wing groups, was introduced in Congress in 1934 by Representative Lundeen (Farm-Labor) of Minnesota. Under this bill unemployment compensation benefits would be paid out of a national fund to all unemployed persons over the age of 18 years, as long as they were out of work through no fault of their own. The amount of the benefits was to be at least equal to the full prevailing local rate of wages, but in no case less than $10 per week, plus $3 for each dependent. The cost of these benefits was to be paid for by the government out of taxes on inheritances, gifts and incomes of over $5000 a year, with no payroll tax on either employers or employes.

Support for this proposal was even urged in resolutions introduced in conventions of the A. F. of L. One introduced in 1934 went so far as to call for a "twenty-four-hour general strike on a national scale the first week in January * * * to focus the attention of the toiling population upon the necessity for the passage" of such a bill. The Resolutions Committee, however, promptly dispatched this proposal to oblivion by reporting, "The proposal * * * is fantastic. It is as impossible of achievement as it is impractical as a method. We

Designed to protect average citizen and his family, the bill was signed on August 14, 1935, by F.D.R.

Social Security Act's authors were thinking of the aged and the vast army of unemployed

recommend non-concurrence." The convention agreed.

It was against such a background that on June 8, 1934, the President, in a special message, informed Congress that he expected to make recommendations at the beginning of the next session for protective measures against destitution and dependency. That same month, in fulfillment of this promise, he set up by executive order the Committee on Economic Security, consisting of four Cabinet members and the Federal Relief Administrator. The chairman was Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins.

Under this committee advisory councils were organized to deal with a wide range of subjects. It is at this stage that we see emerging some of the great names in the history of our social security development in America. No anniversary observance would be complete without at least a word in recognition of their great contribution. Dr. Edwin E. Witte of the University of Wisconsin was selected as executive director of the committee. The Inter-Departmental Technical Board was headed by the then Second Assistant Secretary of Labor, Arthur J. Altmeyer, also of Wisconsin. The General Advisory Council, composed of twenty-three citizens, was headed by Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, and later Senator from that state. Labor was represented on this Council by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, George M. Harrison, president of the Railway Clerks; George Berry, president of the Printing Pressmen; Paul Scharrenberg, secretary-treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor, and Henry Ohl, Jr., president of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

Marion B. Folsom, then assistant treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Company, was a member of the Council. He has just been nominated as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Miss Jane Hoey, later to become director of the Bureau of Public Assistance, was on the Advisory Committee on Child Welfare. Our friend, Dr. Michael M. Davis, now of the Committee for the Nation's Health, was on the Hospital Advisory Board.

Among those furnishing the very excellent technical advice to the various councils were Dr. J. Douglas Brown, then director of the Industrial Relations Section and now dean of the faculty of Princeton University; Mr. Wilbur J. Cohen, research assistant to Executive Director Witte, and Mr. Murray W. Lattimer, chairman of the Railway Retirement Board. Mr. Merrill G. Murray was associate director of the Unemployment Compensation Staff.

The Committee on Economic Security brought together the consultations and recommendations of these various councils in a report presented to the President on January 15, 1935. Two days later a bill incorporating the proposals was introduced in the Senate by Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York and in the House by Congressmen David L. Lewis of Maryland and Robert L. Doughton of North Carolina.

The bill, as it finally emerged from the hearings and floor debates of both houses, contained the broad principles of our present social security system. The keystone of this system then, as now, was a federal contributory insurance system providing benefits to those retiring because of age. Backstopping this was a system of grants to the states enabling them on certain conditions to provide for the needy aged, the blind, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health and the administration of unemployment insurance programs. In addition, the bill employed the tax powers of the federal government to stimulate the states into the enactment of unemployment compensation laws. It thus represented a mixture of direct federal operation with jointly operated federal-state assistance programs and state programs of unemployment compensation required to meet only very minimum federal standards.

There were even in those days those who felt that it was a mistake to approach the problem of unemployment by relying wholly on state action. In February of 1935, for example, a joint statement was is-

Before law's 1939 changes, no provision was made for survivors

sued by a group of labor leaders, welfare workers and social insurance experts which said that a federal subsidy plan for unemployment insurance under which states would have to comply with standards of administration and benefits in order to be eligible for financial help was to be much preferred over the proposals contained in the Administration bill which they described as inadequate and unworkable. William Green and George Harrison were among those signing this statement.

However, one has to recall the atmosphere in which the framers of our first social security plan were working. They couldn't be at all sure that a federal unemployment insurance system would meet the test of constitutionality. Five pieces of New Deal legislation were before the Supreme Court in the first half of 1935 and four of them had been declared unconstitutional. In designing social legislation in this atmosphere it is no wonder that the designers were a bit gun-shy.

Though it is now clear that it was an error to rely chiefly on state legislative action for setting up unemployment compensation programs, it has by no means been a complete failure, as the tax offset approach did result in all forty-eight states enacting unemployment compensation laws within a very short time after the adoption of the national Social Security Act. Since the start of the program there have been almost fourteen billion dollars paid out in unemployment compensation benefits and there remain nearly eight billion dollars in the state reserve funds. The fiscal integrity of the program has weathered the storms of the recession of 1937-38, the postwar adjustment of the mid-Forties and the recession of 1954. Furthermore, it is quite clear that the benefit payments made a real contribution to cushioning the shock of these periods of unemployment and helped maintain purchasing power. No doubt, they contributed considerably in preventing a real depression from developing at any one of these critical times.

Impressive as the record is, we must, from the vantage point of twenty years, admit that another basic mistake was made with respect to the development of our unemployment compensation system—a mistake which we have not yet succeeded in correcting. This was in not adhering strictly to the principles of unemployment insurance. Largely on the basis of the incomplete experience in Wisconsin, we permitted an extraneous element to enter in our legislative planning. The unemployment compensation program, contemplated in the first Social Security Act, became a weird mixture of unemployment insurance and employment stabilization incentives. Employer "experience rating" was supposed to provide, through a set of tax adjustments, incentives to employers to stabilize employment. It has never worked, partly because there is not much that employers can actually do to stabilize employment, and secondly, what they can do they will do anyway in order to effect far larger savings than those represented in the varying tax rates.

Instead of proving an incentive to stabilize employment, experience rating has operated as a very powerful incentive for employers to persuade state legislatures to introduce arbitrary standards for benefit eligibility and capricious provisions for disqualification under the state laws. This trend has gone so far in many states that the original purpose of unemployment compensation legislation can hardly be discerned in the present statute.

In this connection it will be interesting to observe the position that large employers will take as more of them are faced with the requirements of the guaranteed annual wage. The "success" employers have had in persuading state legislatures to weaken the state laws will prove a Pyrrhic victory. The workers in rich America will never be content to live under the constant threat of loss of income due to unemployment. If employers continue to break down the state unemployment laws, then they will have to meet the demand for the guaranteed annual wage—meet it in one form or another as the situation in each industry or trade requires.

THE first basic change in the scope of our social security program was made in 1939. The insurance title of the act was broadened to become the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance program. Prior to 1939 there was no provision in the act for benefits to survivors of a worker who died. So what the amendments of 1939 did, essentially, was to add another type of risk against which the program insured — namely, loss of wages resulting from the death of the family breadwinner. Putting it in another way, the changes of 1939 made our social security program a family income insurance program.

It seems to me especially significant that, in a year when fascist and totalitarian concepts all over the world were making their gigantic bid for loyalty to the state as supreme over all others, the United States determined that the security of the family, as the unit of society, should be underwritten. This was the real meaning of adding survivors' benefits to our social security program. Soon four out of five of all of the mothers of young children in the United States were assured of a continuing portion of the father's wages in the event of his death. At first the benefits provided under this provision were meager—the maximum family benefit being $85 a month. However, through successive amendments, they have been increased until now the maximum is $200 a month.

This significant step forward was again largely a result of the recommendations made by an Advisory Council composed of representatives of workers, employers and the general public. Among those on this second Advisory Council appear the names of many who have contributed to the development of our social security system, including Dr. Brown of Princeton, Dr. Witte of Wisconsin, Dr. Haber of Michigan and a new name, Dr. Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago, now Senator from Illinois. Those representing the American Federation of Labor on the Council were G. M. Bugniazet, secretary of the Electrical Workers; John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department, and Vice-President Matthew Woll.

In 1940 the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor recognized these members as the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor, and this committee has continued as advisory on social security policy to the president of the American Federation of Labor since that time. Its present members are William F. Schnitzler, chairman; Matthew Woll, past chairman; James A. Brownlow, Gordon W. Chapman, J. Scott Milne, George Q. Lynch, Lee W. Minton, Albert J. Hayes and Kenneth Kelley. The president of the American Federation of Labor serves *ex-officio*. Nelson Cruikshank is executive secretary.

William H. Cooper, late secretary-treasurer of the Building Service Employes International Union, rendered invaluable service on this committee for six years. Mr. Cooper's experience in the social security field dated back to the early Thirties and his association with the Fraternal Order of Eagles.

It was to be expected that during the period of the Second World War, when every effort was being made to draw people back into the labor market, little attention would be paid to the development of social security legislation. If Congress was not reacting favorably at this time, however, many of those directly concerned with the operation of the program were thinking of the needs ahead.

Before the war had ended, Senator Wagner, Senator Murray of Montana and Congressman Dingell of Michigan introduced a comprehensive bill designed to meet the deficiencies of our social security system and bring its benefit structure and financing up to date. The series of bills carrying the Wagner-Murray-Dingell title became the rallying point of the friends of social security over the period of the next several years.

Although the bills have never been enacted into law in their entirety, they have had a profound impact on the development of social security in this country. It was for the specific purpose of developing understanding and support for the legislative effort in behalf of this proposal that the American Federation of Labor established its Social Security Department. National health insurance became a controversial issue, but out of the pressures in its support came such notable achievements as the Hill-Burton Hospital Survey and Construction Act under which well over 2,000 hospitals and health centers have been constructed in the country since 1946. Also, the nationwide discussion of health needs gave rise to the articulate demand of workers for protection against the high cost of medical care. While we are not at all satisfied with the level of achievement in this area, we do not for a moment belittle the fact that now nearly 12,000,000 workers are covered by some type of health insurance plan developed under collective bargaining agreements.

DURING the twenty years of its history, the social security system has weathered two major attacks. The first was in 1936 during a Presidential campaign conducted in the period between the enactment of the legislation and the beginning of its effective *(Continued on Page 26)*

Social security has meant that old age is no longer terrifying

MR. WOLL

The High Court's Labor Decisions

By J. ALBERT WOLL
General Counsel,
American Federation of Labor

IN December of 1953, the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Garner versus Teamsters' Union, told the states that they may not enjoin, under their own labor statutes, conduct which has been defined as an unfair labor practice under the Taft-Hartley Act. In doing so, the Supreme Court emphasized that exclusive primary jurisdiction to adjudicate such conduct was delegated by Congress, in this law, to the National Labor Relations Board.

It was thought by many that this decision would end state intrusion into the realm of exclusive federal jurisdiction over labor conduct falling within the reach of Taft-Hartley. However, such has not been the case. Some state courts began to read into the Garner case limitations of application which, in their view, justified state intervention and state injunctions against picketing in labor disputes that fell clearly within the ambit of federal jurisdiction.

Thus, some state courts, interpreting the Garner case in a most restrictive manner, concluded that the exclusive primary jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board, referred to by the Supreme Court, was not called into play when state action was taken, not under a statute dealing with labor relations but under other state laws, such as a law dealing with restraint of trade.

This attempt to delimit the application of the Garner decision found no favor with the Supreme Court during its term just ended. The Supreme Court was given the opportunity to test and weigh its validity several months ago. This opportunity came in the cases of Weber versus Anheuser-Busch and of General Drivers and Warehousemen's Union versus American Tobacco Company.

In the Weber case the Supreme Court of Missouri upheld an injunction against strike activity, including picketing, carried on by the International Association of Machinists against the Anheuser-Busch Company. In doing so, the Missouri court justified the state's assumption of jurisdiction by concluding that the National Labor Relations Board had earlier ruled out the possibility of a Taft-Hartley Act unfair labor practice being involved in the conduct of the union complained against, and by further concluding that the conduct enjoined had effectively restrained the flow of trade within the state in violation of a state statute dealing with restraint of trade.

This assumption of jurisdiction, however, did not set well with the Supreme Court of the United States. It disposed of the first conclusion reached by the Missouri court by stating it was in error in concluding that the National Labor Relations Board had ruled out the possibility of an unfair labor practice being involved.

The Supreme Court then added the significant observation that "even if it were clear" that no such unfair labor practice was involved, it would not necessarily follow that the state was at liberty to issue the injunction, for the conduct complained against, if not a violation of Taft-Hartley, might be regarded as a protected activity under Section 7 of that law, and the determination of such an issue is the exclusive job of the National Labor Relations Board in the first instance.

In connection with the second conclusion reached by the Missouri court, the Anheuser-Busch Company argued before the Supreme Court that the Garner case had application only to a situation where both the state and the federal governments specifically sought to regulate labor relations by statutory enactment and that it did not apply to a situation where labor conduct was enjoined as being in violation of a state statute having nothing to do with labor relations, such as a state law dealing with restraint of trade.

In short, it was argued that since the injunction under consideration was not grounded on a state labor law, the Garner decision was not applicable.

This argument, however, fell upon unsympathetic ears, for the Supreme Court refused to so circumscribe the Garner case. The "emphasis" in the Garner case, said the Supreme Court, was on "two similar remedies," one provided by the state and the other provided by Congress, that were brought to bear on the same conduct and was not on "two conflicting labor statutes."

The high court then emphasized that where conduct is brought within the exclusive concern of the federal

government, the state must keep its hands off and cannot interfere.

"Controlling and therefore superseding federal power cannot be curtailed by the state even though the ground of intervention be different from that on which federal supremacy has been exercised," the Supreme Court said.

In other words, the court said that where conduct falls within exclusive federal jurisdiction, a state cannot intrude, regardless of the nature of the statute under which it seeks to make such intrusion.

THE case of the General Drivers and Warehousemen's Union versus the American Tobacco Company was decided by the Supreme Court on authority of its earlier decision in the Weber case. In this case an injunction had been granted by a Kentucky state court enjoining members of a Teamsters' local from refusing to cross a picket line established by their union at an installation of the American Tobacco Company. This injunction was based on a state statute designed to require common carriers to render non-discriminatory services to all their customers. The state court held that the inability of the common carriers to perform services for the American Tobacco Company because of a refusal by their Teamster employes to cross the picket line gave rise to discrimination in the rendition of services to the shipper.

As in the Weber case, the Supreme Court set aside the injunction, thus making it abundantly clear that the nature of the law utilized by a state to enjoin conduct falling within the exclusive concern of the federal government does not bring to a state jurisdiction that is beyond its reach.

These two decisions, together with the Garner case, should at least lessen to a great degree the number of injunctions issued by state courts against union activity that falls within the framework of the Taft-Hartley Act. Labor cannot, of course, expect that such state injunctions will cease overnight, but it can secure some comfort in the knowledge that the Supreme Court of the United States, in these decisions, has narrowed immeasurably the opportunities for their issuance.

In considering these decisions of the Supreme Court, the question quite naturally arises as to whether labor has available to it full opportunity to obtain immediate effective federal court injunctive relief when its rights are infringed by the issuance of state court injunctions that are beyond the power of a state court to impose. The answer appears to be that, for all practical purposes, a labor organization cannot ordinarily look to a federal District Court for such quick relief.

This answer is contained in the case of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America versus Richman Brothers, decided by the Supreme Court in April of this year by a 5 to 3 vote. In this case the union peacefully picketed a number of Richman Brothers retail stores for the alleged purpose of compelling the employes of that company to join the union. The company filed suit in a state court in Ohio, alleging a common-law conspiracy and a statutory and common-law restraint of trade and praying for temporary and permanent injunctions.

After unsuccessfully seeking to remove the suit to the federal District Court, the union filed a complaint in that court seeking an injunction which would require the company to abandon its suit commenced in the state court. The federal District Court refused to grant the relief requested, and this refusal was upheld by the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit. Thereafter the Ohio court granted the injunction requested by the employer.

In affirming the decisions of the District Court and the Court of Appeals, the Supreme Court assumed that the union's conduct, complained against in the state court, was subject to relief under the Taft-Hartley Act and therefore beyond the reach of state authority. The Supreme Court held, however, that even in such a situation a federal court could not, "before complaint has been entertained by the [Labor] Board and at the request of one of the private parties," issue an injunction to stop the employer's attempt to use the process of the state courts.

The five-justice majority of the Supreme Court reached this conclusion because of Section 2283 of the Federal Judicial Code, which forbids a federal court from granting an injunction to stay proceedings in a state court "except as expressly authorized by act of Congress, or where necessary in aid of its jurisdiction, or to protect or effectuate its judgments."

In the opinion of the majority of the Supreme Court, Congress, by enacting Section 2283, made it clear that its prohibition was "not to be whittled away by judicial improvisation," and the argument of the union and the National Labor Relations Board that Section 2283 did not apply in a situation where it is claimed in the federal District Court that the state court is "wholly without jurisdiction of the subject matter, having invaded a field preempted by Congress," left that majority unimpressed.

After an examination of the specific exemptions to the general prohibition contained in Section 2283, the court concluded that none of them was applicable to the case under consideration, and it thereupon upheld the federal District Court's refusal to grant the injunctive relief requested by the union.

IN considering this decision it will be well to remember that Justice Frankfurter, in announcing the judgment of the Supreme Court, called attention to the fact that no complaint of unfair labor practices had been entertained by the Labor Board. This may be significant, for the Supreme Court, in the Capital Services case, decided in 1954, held that a federal District Court in which the Labor Board had filed a complaint for injunction against a union for unfair labor practices had jurisdiction, upon the application of the Board, to issue an injunction of the nature sought by the union in the Amalgamated case.

A dismal picture of what could possibly happen under this decision was described by Justice Douglas, with whom the Chief Justice and Justice Black concurred, in dissenting. Justice Douglas said:

"Under the present decision, an employer can move in the state courts for an injunction against the strike. The injunction, if granted, may for all practical pur- *(Continued on Page 27)*

Auditing Program Is Working Well

TO carry out the provisions of an amendment to the American Federation of Labor constitution approved by the last convention, the Federation launched an auditing program at the beginning of this year. It is now possible to report that this program is working well.

Under the auditing program, regular audits are conducted by trained and experienced A. F. of L. staff auditors who are thoroughly familiar with federal labor union practices. These audits cover the books, accounts, records and financial transactions of all local trade and federal labor unions.

Since the inauguration of the auditing program in January, the auditors have visited a large number of federal labor unions and have made complete audits in conformity with the requirements of the constitution. The director of the Auditing Department is John J. Lorden, who prior to his present assignment had been a member of the A. F. of L. organizing staff for many years.

Auditing of the federal labor unions' books and records ties in most directly with the modern method of recording and reporting the dues and other payments of members of the directly affiliated unions. This new record system, in which punched cards and the latest types of busi-

Secretary Schnitzler (center) keeps a close watch on progress of the program. Here he is conferring with John J. Lorden (left), director of Auditing Department, and L. G. Nygren

ness machines are used, went into effect a year ago. As anticipated, the new method has lightened the burdens of financial secretaries and has proved highly efficient. Like the auditing system, the new record-keeping arrangements were inaugurated in order to give better service to our membership through the application of the best practices which have been developed up to the present time. The operations of A. F. of L. headquarters employes who process the monthly reports from the financial secretaries are under the direction of L. G. Nygren.

Under the constitution, the officers of all federal labor unions are required to turn over to the auditors all books, records, accounts and information necessary to the making of complete audits. It may be reported at this time that the Auditing Department and its staff members have been given excellent cooperation. There has been full recognition by the officers of our federal organizations that the protection of the interests of the members must always be our paramount concern. The auditing program operates to effectuate this purpose.

Secretary Schnitzler has expressed his appreciation of the efficient manner in which the auditing program is functioning.

"The officers of our local trade and federal labor unions are deserving of high commendation for their fine cooperation with our auditing staff," he said. "We are going forward with this important work. The auditing program protects the members and it protects the officers of our federal labor unions. The program is working well up to this point, and I am confident that it will continue to work well. Thanks are due to our staff of auditors for their efficiency and thoroughness, and thanks are also due to the officers of federal labor unions who by their cooperation are contributing to the success of this program."

Federal union record is checked by Auditor Dermot Healy and Mr. Lorden

Auditor Joseph Cummings and office employe are hunting for information

Auditors in this photo are Martin A. Durkin and Melvin L. Levan (right)

THE WORDS WERE GOOD

But What Happened to the 'Follow Through'?

By GEORGE P. DELANEY
A. F. of L. International Representative

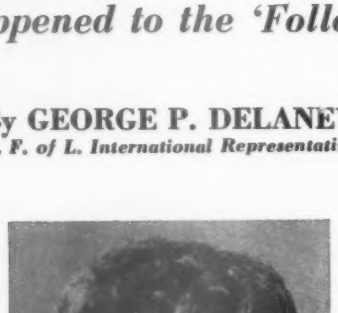
JAMES MITCHELL, Secretary of Labor of the United States, set the temper for the thirty-eighth conference of the International Labor Organization, which was held recently in Geneva, Switzlerland, when he stated:

"I am sure that you who are attending this conference, who come from many nations and worship God in many languages and in many ways, condemn human bondage as I do. No people who believe in a Supreme Being can justify the evil practice of forced labor no matter what form it takes.

"No man with dignity can read the report of the U.N.-I.L.O. Committee on Forced Labor, composed of eminent persons from India, Norway and Peru, and not shudder with disgust. No man who believes in any sort of God in Heaven can read of the tragic breaking up of homes, the separation of husbands and wives, the wrenching of children from their mothers, the brutality, the slaughtering of countless humans—no man can read these facts and lie still within himself, unmoved, inactive.

"You know the facts, I am sure. You doubtless have read the pitiful testimony of those fortunate enough to escape from the forced labor camps of the Communist dictatorships. You have read of their starvation diets, the camps and cells surrounded with electrified wire, guarded by watch towers and patrolled by dogs. Victims who were unable to fulfill their work quotas because of their starvation diet were met by severe punishment. Those who struck were starved and shot, and many who were not shot died of malnutrition, exhaustion and cold. The testimony taken by this impartial commission is replete with horrifying instances such as this.

"These facts which I have set forth prove that forced labor does exist in some parts of the world today and constitutes an atrocious crime against the human race. It is imperative that vigorous and effective action be taken by this great international body to stamp out forever this evil practice.



MR. DELANEY

"It is particularly appropriate that action against forced labor be taken by the International Labor Organization, which is so firmly committed to the ideals of social justice and human betterment. The I.L.O. should take advantage of every power, every resource and every facility at its command to assure that effective action is taken against this form of bondage."

In an obvious attempt to refute Secretary Mitchell's charges, Professor Arutiunian, Soviet government delegate, accused the United States of wide use of forced labor. As "proof" for this allegation, Professor Arutiunian mentioned migrant workers from Mexico, exploitation of Mexican workers and Negroes, and the introduction of "slave labor" in many areas of the United States. To substantiate this last allegation, he quoted American labor leaders as having referred to the Taft-Hartley Act as a slave labor act.

All these Soviet allegations clearly pointed to the telling effects of Secretary Mitchell's statements. The charges of the Soviet delegate were repudiated by the government delegates of Mexico, Jamaica and Panama and by this writer. There can be no doubt that Secretary Mitchell's charges struck at the most vulnerable weakness of the Russians in their participation in the International Labor Organization.

Following Secretary Mitchell's opening of the discussion on the Director-General's report, some 150 delegates took part in the discussion on labor-management relations and human relations in industry. More than 700 delegates and advisers were in attendance, representing seventy-four nations and territories. This established a new record of attendance. President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Nehru of India sent messages, and more than a score of Ministers of Labor with Cabinet rank addressed the conference.

The conference adopted a report and official recommendation on vocational rehabilitation of the disabled—including those disabled in war and industry and those born with handicaps.

The conference urged increased efforts to help war-disabled persons to return to normal occupations. It made proposals concerning:

(1) Continuous and coordinated national programs for vocational rehabilitation.

(2) Research designed to demonstrate working capacities of the disabled.

(3) Measures taken in close cooperation with employers and trade unions to promote "maximum opportunities" for the physically handicapped.

(4) Proposals concerning interviews, medical examinations, aptitude tests, sheltered workshops, vocational guidance, education of the public, cooperation with bodies responsible for medical treatment, etc.

The conference approved a report from its committee on vocational training in agriculture designed to make farm life attractive and productive for young workers and their parents, as well as to increase the world's supply of food.

The report urged final adoption at the 1956 conference of a formal I.L.O. recommendation. It was based on proposals of the I.L.O.'s Permanent Agricultural Committee and was worked out in close consultation with the other agencies concerned, particularly F.A.O. It proposed:

(1) Equality of opportunity for agricultural vocational training without distinction as to race, religion, sex or status of land tenure.

(2) Apprenticeship schemes where agriculture is suitably organized and farm practices warrant it.

(3) On-the-farm training programs.

(4) Farm extension programs to carry the results of scientific research to farmers.

(5) "High priority" for training of teachers and officials of agricultural services.

(6) Use of radio and audio-visual aids.

(7) International exchange of farm youth, teachers and experts, especially among countries with similar agricultural conditions.

(8) Proposals concerning cooperation with farm and other organizations, short courses, rural domestic economy courses for women, special attention to primitive and tribal farming, etc.

Another report designed to result in the adoption of an official recommendation at next year's conference came before the plenary session with a unanimous vote of the committee on welfare facilities for workers. It dealt with such a variety of subjects as canteens, buffets and mobile snack carts; rest rooms; recreation facilities; covered storage space for workers' bicycles, and ways to improve transportation services to factories.

The conference also overwhelmingly adopted a new international labor convention to abolish penal sanctions against indigenous workers for breaches of employment contracts. The countries which ratify this convention are expected to end penal sanctions as soon as possible, and in any event not later than one year from the date of ratification. Penal sanctions are denounced in the convention as "contrary to modern conceptions of the contractual relationships between employers and workers and to the personal dignity and rights of man."

U.S. abstention negated talk by Labor Secretary Mitchell

Since penal sanctions for breaches of contract in employment are a form of forced labor, it was to be expected that after the strong speech by Secretary Mitchell, the United States delegation would be unanimous in its support of this convention. Actually, however, the United States employer delegate cast the lone vote in opposition to the convention, and the United States government and the Union of South Africa were the only two governments in the conference which voted to abstain. The United States worker delegate voted approval.

Assistant Secretary of Labor Wilkins, in an attempt to explain the U.S. government's abstention, stated:

"The U.S. stands unalterably opposed to penal sanctions such as those to which the draft instrument applies. The U.S. is wholeheartedly in favor of abolishing penal sanctions. It only questions the form of this instrument."

Here we find the influence of the isolationist Bricker element in Congress reflected in the decision of the U.S. government on an extremely important issue before the I.L.O.

While no penal sanctions exist in the United States or any of its territories, they run counter to every moral and legal precept of the United States. Although the convention abolishing penal sanctions would have no practical application in the United States, there was no justifiable reason why the U.S. government could not support a convention designed to end such penal sanctions for breaches of employment contracts.

It becomes obvious that if the U.S. government is to meet its responsibility as a member state of the I.L.O., it must face up squarely to the question of support for conclusions which take the form of a convention. The U.S. delegation to the I.L.O. conference must take as its guide in formulating its position the views of President Eisenhower on the Bricker amendment rather than those of the McGrath-Hart-Rumely wing of isolationist economic-political opinion.

LABOR PRACTICES BROTHERHOOD

In my experience in unions, I have learned that people generally all have the same aspirations. The desire for decency and justice in labor-management relationships, good homes and opportunities for our children cuts across all differences in race, creed or country of origin.

In our unions the members refer to each other as "brother" or "sister." It is the symbol of union membership. Organized labor is truly brotherhood in action. Our country can grow in stature in its world relationships by practicing the principles of brotherhood as we endeavor to practice them in our trade unions.

—William A. Lee
President, Chicago Federation of Labor

Collective Bargaining Is the Instrument

MAKING LABOR PROGRESS THE AMERICAN WAY

By CHARLES J. MAC GOWAN

Charles J. MacGowan is a vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and president emeritus of the Boilermakers. He was a member of the U.S. delegation at the recent world congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. This article is drawn from an address which Mr. MacGowan delivered at the congress.

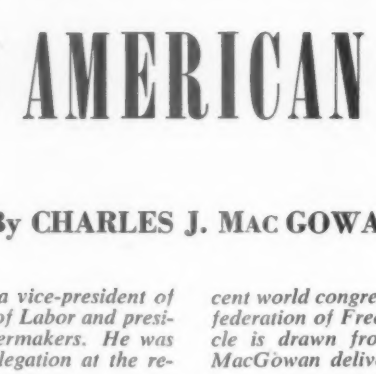
THE three great demands of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions are bread, peace and freedom. The progress and strength of our world organization can be measured best by the extent to which we advance and attain these demands on a world scale.

The report of our general secretary dealt with our fight for peace. It dealt with our fight for freedom. In my opinion, it could have dealt more extensively and more effectively with our fight for bread, with our struggle to attain the very first objective of our organization.

As we see it, the fundamental aim of a bonafide free trade union organization is the protection and promotion of the interests and rights of the workers. The instrument for achieving these objectives is, above all, collective bargaining.

We are aware of the fact that different countries have different conditions. The mechanical transfer of methods from one country to another is neither desirable nor possible. We do not propose to transfer our methods or experiences to other countries.

Every national trade union movement must seek its own means which are most effective for achieving its goals. No uniform procedure is possible. We reject all totalitarian concepts. In some countries co-determination may be a means of curbing arrogant big business and preventing it from using its economic power for reactionary political purposes. In other countries nationalization may



MR. MAC GOWAN

be a sound way of increasing productivity and improving conditions of labor in some particular industry where management was neither willing nor efficient enough to do so itself. It is in this spirit that we of the American Federation of Labor have, for example, supported the D.G.B. [West German Federation of Labor] in its fight for co-determination and championed United States economic aid to Great Britain at a time when the Labor government carried out its nationalization program.

In the United States labor has relied almost exclusively on collective bargaining for protecting the livelihood of the workers, for obtaining an ever greater share of the wealth of the nation and for assuring the working people a happier and fuller life.

Let me first state what I think are the prerequisites for effective, successful collective bargaining. These are:

(1) Powerful trade union organizations, numerically strong, adequately financed by a dues-paying membership, not internally divided, under efficient and responsible leadership—bonafide voluntary and democratic organizations, independent of all outside influences. In particular, I stress freedom from Communist penetration of the organization and subversive influence on its membership and policies.

(2) Collective bargaining must be free—no interference from government, no legislative restrictions such as compulsory arbitration or anti-strike laws. We are for government action only insofar as it is necessary to assure the workers their democratic right to organize and to choose their own representatives for engaging in collective bargaining.

(3) Employers who accept their social responsibility and bargain in good faith.

(4) Competitive free economy. No all-mighty trusts or cartels which conspire to make real collective bargaining impossible.

In summary, genuine collective bargaining is possible only in a society where there is political and economic freedom. Collective bargaining is impossible under any totalitarian society. It existed neither under nazism nor fascism. Nor does it exist under falangism, communism or

the Tito system of "people's democracy." The so-called trade unions in these countries are frauds. They are a sham. They are state-controlled company unions.

Because the American free enterprise system has made possible free collective bargaining, we do not oppose it and do not seek structural changes in our economy. We have been able to obtain a high standard of living and favorable conditions of life and labor. Since the beginning of the century, the North American standard of living has doubled. We have a prevailing forty-hour week. We have almost full employment. The dignity of the American worker is respected. He enjoys equal status with other social groups in American society.

Our trade unions play an ever more important part in the life of our country and its domestic and international affairs. Our successes would be even greater if it were not for the Taft-Hartley Act and the misnamed "right to work" laws in some states which are predominantly agricultural. We conduct an active fight against all restrictive federal legislation like the Hobbs Act.

The prospects for even greater advance for American labor are assured by the projected merger of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. We shall begin with a united organization of at least 15,000,000 members. The impact of this unification will be felt in the economic field. It will mean the strengthening of labor's bargaining power. It will have a profound influence upon our political life. The election of a liberal Congress and a more progressive government is more likely. The chances for abrogating Taft-Hartley and the "right to work" laws of various states will be improved.

However, we of American labor do not intend to rest on our laurels. We are determined to press on and march forward. When Samuel Gompers, the first president of the American Federation of Labor, was once asked what labor wanted, he answered: "More."

What does this "more" in the near future mean in terms of collective bargaining? Among the most important goals for which large sections of organized labor in America are now struggling are: guaranteed annual wage in certain industries and a thirty-hour week. What does the guaranteed annual wage mean? And in which industries could it apply? In some industries a guaranteed annual wage is not feasible; for example, in the construction and building industries. In these industries our trade unions are demanding higher wages in order to compensate the workers for slack periods.

We fight for the thirty-hour week because it will provide not only more leisure for workers but will also create more jobs. The shorter workweek is a most effective measure for offsetting the unfavorable consequences of automation for the workers.

Collective bargaining will have to deal with the problems created by automation. These are not entirely new problems. Actually they are old problems of technological change in new form. American labor is not against technological progress, but we must share in the increased productivity. The task of our trade unions is to lessen and, if possible, eliminate all unfavorable repercussions and consequences for the workers' employment situations through such measures as adequate severance pay and shortened working hours.

Let me hasten to correct one common false impression about collective bargaining in our country. With us collective bargaining is not restricted to wages and hours. Collective bargaining has an ever-widening scope. Many issues which are decided in other countries by special legislation are dealt with by collective agreements in our country.

Let me cite a few of them. We have what is called in our contracts fringe benefits, such as paid vacations, health and welfare plans, and grievance procedure. The settlement of labor disputes is done directly between union and management. We jointly select our own impartial chairmen. We have no labor courts and we want no labor courts.

Furthermore, we rely on collective

Through the collective bargaining process, labor in the United States is able to make steady gains

Employers aren't allowed to be dictators

bargaining as the instrument for strengthening the position of the trade unions. We seek to determine our wages through collective bargaining. We do not want the legal or government fixing of wages. For instance, in our country, unlike the situation in France, wages are not determined by government decision. We don't go in for so-called family or child allowances.

American labor supports only federal or state minimum wage laws in order to assure the protection of the workers in those sectors of the economy which are difficult to organize and in order to prevent undermining of our union wage scales. The position of our trade unions is further strengthened through provisions in our collective agreements dealing with union security, such as a union shop in some cases, the maintenance of membership in other cases, and a check-off system in still other cases like the coal industry.

In the United States we have no special laws on shop stewards. Their responsibilities and rights are determined in the collective agreements. With us the shop steward is the representative of the trade union. He sees to it that collective bargaining is carried out, that the provisions covering wages, hours, hiring, firing, promotion, seniority system, grievance procedure, etc., are complied with.

In recent years there has developed in our collective agreements a trend toward settling issues which were once regarded solely as the prerogatives of management. American labor does not seek co-determination. We do not seek representation on the board of directors or in the board of management of a company. On the other hand, we are increasingly successful in winning over management to a recognition of our right to deal, through collective bargaining, with problems which the employers themselves once determined.

Thus, more and more issues, once decided solely by management, are now dealt with in our collective bargaining agreements. For example, the introduction of new machines and methods of production, time studies conducted jointly, the right to inspect employers' books, some say about the location of a plant, etc. Such issues are now being decided more and more through mutual agreement by labor and management, through labor - management cooperation. This process has made the most notable progress in our garment industry.

All of this shows that the free enterprise system as we know it in the United States is not identical with the Nineteenth Century economic liberalism as known in Europe. In our economic setup there are found many elements of industrial democracy which West European capitalism never had. In addition, the economic system of the United States is subject to a large measure of public control. I cite banking, insurance, stock exchanges, mortgages, wage and hour laws, etc. Furthermore, there are large sectors of our economy which are operated directly or indirectly by our federal government or the individual states. These cover vast natural resources, huge power projects like the TVA, the atomic bomb industry, etc.

We stress that collective bargaining is beneficial not only for the workers but also for industry, for the entire economy of the nation. Our trade union demands have forced American industry to seek ever greater efficiency, to strive for increasing productivity, for better methods of production and distribution. Our vigorous collective bargaining policies have proved beneficial also for agriculture and the small businessmen, like those engaged in the service industries. We have enhanced the buying power of the many millions of our working people. The effectiveness of our collective bargaining is a most important factor explaining the continued prosperity in the United States.

We realize that every country has its own specific peculiarities and traditions. We are against anybody seeking to impose on us any particular system. We are equally against any effort by anyone in our country seeking to impose our system on other lands.

I cannot emphasize too strongly that the discussion of trade union experiences in different countries, the exchange of information and the lessons to be learned therefrom are instructive and helpful. It is through such democratic methods that the international labor movement can most effectively advance its basic aim of bread—not in the narrow sense of the word but in its symbolic sense of plenty, of freedom from poverty, hunger and ignorance.

President Miller of Hotel and Restaurant Employes conferred with George Meany and William F. Schnitzler

Vacationing America Shuns Miami Beach As Hotels Use Injunctions Against Labor

EVEN THOUGH the daily press—with very few exceptions—has been giving the silent treatment to the big hotel strike now in progress in the Miami area, the story is coming through to the public via word of mouth, the labor press and the radio. And once again the American people are proving that they are firm believers in fair play and dislike employers who kick their employes around and refuse to deal honorably with them. Vacationing citizens in large numbers, according to reports, have accepted the striking hotel employes' friendly suggestion: "Don't spoil your vacation by patronizing scab hotels."

As this issue went to press, President George Meany of the American Federation of Labor was scheduled to be heard on the hotel strike over the coast-to-coast ABC radio network.

The morale of the strikers is high. They are determined to continue the fight until the employers end their refusal to negotiate. The Miami story is being publicized by locals of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes throughout the country as well as by many other unions. The recent convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor adopted a resolution urging the American Legion to take its next convention elsewhere.

Outdoor rally informed New Yorkers that there's a hotel strike in Miami. Story also reached other cities despite 'silent treatment' by press. Struck hotels are heavy advertisers

Editorial

By GEORGE MEANY

TVA and Dixon-Yates

CANCELLATION of the Dixon-Yates power contract with the federal government provides a happy outcome for a heated controversy, but it does not settle the big issues involved in this widely criticized deal. The crux of the whole problem is the Administration's power policy, especially in relation to the future of the Tennessee Valley Authority and other public power projects.

The TVA is one of the great wonders of America. To the foreign visitors who flock to see it, as well as to most Americans, it represents a triumph over the obstacles that nature sometimes interposes in the path of humanity's progress.

Before TVA the Tennessee River Valley was a wasted, impoverished area, subjected to periodic floods and devastation. Farmers struggled to eke out a living from their depleted land, workers were handicapped by low working and living standards, businessmen were afflicted with the economic anemia of low purchasing power.

Then came the TVA and with it a complete transformation. Dams were built to control the floods and provide a constant source of water power for the generation of low-cost electric power. The river itself became a broad highway of commerce. The farms, replenished with cheap fertilizer and electrified, began to flourish beyond all expectations. Many thousands of workers were given employment at good wages. Business began breaking records.

It should be remembered also that, before TVA, monopolistic practices and lack of enterprise by the private utility interests had resulted in maintaining high power prices and thereby preventing wider use of electricity to lighten the lives and the burdens of people of this country. The TVA provided a much-needed yardstick for the production and distribution of cheap power. As a result, even the private utilities soon discovered they could make greater profits by wider consumption at lower rates.

Even the sharpest critics of public power development concede these inescapable facts. But, they insist, why use the tax revenues collected by the federal government from citizens all over the nation for the special benefit of a comparative few in a local area?

The answer to that argument is simple. Without the TVA, America would not have been able to win the last World War as soon as we did. TVA power made possible the vast expansion of aluminum production needed for building the planes which were the key to Allied victory.

Despite TVA's wonderful record, supporters of TVA began to fear for its future when the Eisenhower Administration came into office and proclaimed a policy of favoring "local initiative" in power development. These fears were crystalized when the Atomic Energy Commission, at the direction of the White House, entered into a contract with the Dixon-Yates private utility syndicate.

The AEC had decided to use large amounts of TVA power for the operation of a new atomic energy establishment. This would deprive the city of Memphis of its power source. The government, instead of authorizing the TVA to augment its power production through building new steam plants, entered into a contract with the Dixon-Yates syndicate to build a power plant in West Memphis, Arkansas, to supply the needed power to Memphis.

These bare facts, of course, do not tell the whole story. There were many dubious aspects to the Dixon-Yates deal, especially the lack of competitive bidding. There were also justifiable suspicions of an attempt to crowd the TVA out of its natural field and gradually dispose of its power facilities on a piecemeal basis to private utility interests.

However, the city of Memphis, which had vigorously opposed the Dixon-Yates contract, found the solution by deciding to build its own municipal power plant. This made the Administration's position completely untenable and forced it to cancel its contract with Dixon-Yates.

The American Federation of Labor, as a firm believer in the free enterprise system, supports the private ownership and management of public utilities, including electric power. We do not believe in the nationalization of the power industry. However, we are convinced that the TVA has performed a highly useful function for the area affected and the nation as a whole. No private company or combination of companies could have undertaken such a tremendous job on such a broad scale. Likewise the development of other major river valleys exceeds the scope of private capital and should be undertaken by the federal government.

So, as we look ahead to the future, it would be nothing short of suicidal for our government to stifle the TVA or fail to build other TVAs in areas where the national welfare would be enhanced by sound investment of public funds in building a better America.

'Must' Measures

CONGRESS is getting ready to adjourn soon and, as usual at such times, there is a danger that important and deserving legislation may be pigeonholed because there is enough opposition to prevent speedy action.

Our lawmakers work hard and they are entitled to a vacation, especially during Washington's torrid summer season, but we urge them not to neglect acute national needs in their haste to get away.

The schools of our country are in a disgraceful state. The shortage of decent schoolrooms and the dearth of good teachers can only be solved by an effective program of federal aid to education. Yet Congress thus far has made little progress toward enacting such a program.

Public housing is a must. Slums in city areas and farm communities are a corrosive influence upon our youth and our civilization. The Senate passed an adequate low-cost public housing program and a House committee approved a less desirable one, but the House Rules Committee thus far has blocked further action. This roadblock should be broken and final action taken before adjournment.

The Senate has voted a $1 minimum wage. The House Labor Committee has approved a similar bill. It would be tragic if action on this increase in the federal minimum wage is not completed before adjournment.

These measures are on labor's "must" list, and we think the vast majority of the American people will agree that they deserve prompt consideration.

WHAT'S AHEAD?

By Maurice A. Hutcheson
President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners

THE MODERN labor movement was born in a time of crisis. First the steam engine and later electricity and the internal combustion engine began making muscle-power obsolete. Machines that could outlift, outpull or outpush twenty or thirty human beings appeared overnight.

Men turned to unionism. Alone, they were powerless to combat the effects of mechanization. Banded together in voluntary unions, they gradually made man the master of the machine, rather than the machine the master of man. As they won for themselves an increasing share of the fruits of machine productivity, their living standards advanced and their working conditions improved.

Now we are standing on the threshold of an industrial revolution as dramatic and far-reaching as that presaged by the introduction of steam and electricity. We are entering the age of the automatic machine—the machine which can think and remember and make choices. Just as organized labor tamed steam and electricity for the benefit of all, so must it henceforth equalize the benefits of automation.

Based on the achievement of the past seventy-five years, I predict that American workers, through their unions constantly winning for them an ever-increasing share of the fruits of automation, will more than double their living standards in the next half century. I foresee a four-day week within ten to fifteen years. I foresee retirement age reduced to 60, or perhaps even 55, with pensions large enough to provide a luxury scale of living, judged by today's standards.

I foresee 90 to 95 per cent of all American workers belonging to unions by the year 2000. I see unemployment all but eliminated, industrial accidents cut to an irreducible minimum and educational opportunities open at all levels to everyone.

These may sound like brave predictions in 1955. But all of them are possible if organized labor in America is kept as alert, democratic and progressive as it has been.

MAINTAIN STRENGTH AND DON'T BE FOOLED BY THE KREMLIN'S NEW 'SMILING FACE' PROPAGANDA, PRESIDENT MEANY WARNED IN AN ADDRESS WHICH NATIONAL PRESS CLUB AUDIENCE RECEIVED WELL

A Message for America

KEEP GUARD UP

THE FREE WORLD should not be taken in by Communist Russia's latest switch, the use of the "smiling face" technique, President George Meany of the American Federation of Labor said in an address before the National Press Club which was later broadcast to the nation. The Kremlin's ultimate objective is exactly the same as before, and that objective is world domination, Mr. Meany warned.

"If you accept the Soviet policy of 'peaceful coexistence,' you are just accepting something that is going to bring you no existence for our side in the future," the Federation's president said. "For them it means time—and they need plenty of time. They have no timetable. They can change direction, back up, come forward, go sideways, and it means nothing. Their timetable is infinity."

Looking ahead to the Geneva meeting "at the summit," Mr. Meany said:

"If there is any message that I have—and I think I have one—it is that the way to deal with these people is on the basis of good, hard Yankee common sense and on the basis of logic. You can't buy peace by appeasement."

In the concluding portion of his Press Club address, the A. F. of L. leader said:

"Keep America economically and militarily strong. Do what we can to help our allies remain strong. Let us not make an agreement of convenience if in making it we have to accept the Communist definition of moral values. That definition has made a science of hypocrisy and a virtue of dishonesty. No European pact would be worth the paper it is written on if we are going to justify the crimes against humanity committed by these people against the millions that they have enslaved.

"Above all, let us not be fooled. Just because there may be a decline in Moscow's capacity to do evil does not indicate a readiness to do good. Just because they might be less brutal at the moment than they usually want to be, it should not be taken as a sign of peace."

George Meany Answers Reporters' Questions

Following his National Press Club address, A. F. of L. President Meany responded to questions submitted by members. We reproduce here the questions of major interest and Mr. Meany's answers.

Q. *What is the alternative to "coexistence or no existence," assuming that the Soviets make concessions at or after the Big Four meeting? Have you any further thought along that line?*

A. You know, a lot of people talk of "coexistence," and to me they really mean the status quo. I think there is a difference. The Russians speak of "peaceful coexistence." The status quo is something else. Under the status quo, we keep our guard up. We keep preparing for trouble, and we keep militarily strong. Under their rule of "peaceful coexistence," we let our guard down.

It is like living next door to a firebug in a town where there is no Police Department and no Fire Department. You don't keep your windows open, or when you do open them, you have asbestos shades. So the firebug comes along and he says, "Well, let us live and let live. After all, let us get along." You say, "Fine," and you pull your shades up, and he continues to throw lighted matches in your window. When you object, he says, "Well, that is my way of life."

Q. *What effect do you think the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. merger will have on labor's political role? Do you foresee formation of a labor political party?*

A. No, I do not see formation of a labor political party. I don't know of anyone in leadership that is advocating any such thing except an odd voice here and there that I feel is greatly in the minority. I don't think the American worker wants a political party of his own. I think the American worker's attitude toward his trade union has always been strictly economic, and that he does not want his trade union to do anything for him that he can do himself as an individual. We do not follow the pattern, for instance, of the European trade unions, in which membership in a trade union involves all sorts of social contacts with the trade union, vacations and everything else —that is, as well as political contacts.

The American workers would resent any effort on the part of his union to force him into a political party. However, that does not contradict our policy of political action. We have to have some activity in politics, and we are going to continue to have some activity in politics, because we have found out that those who don't like labor and don't like the things we advocate are active in politics. We found that our work in carrying out our very simple objective of getting a fair share for the American worker of the wealth he helps to produce can be hampered and impeded by legislation. We found out that those who are opposed to us and opposed us for many years in other fields have concentrated in the legislative field, on state "right to work" laws and other legislative actions designed to impede and hamstring the labor movement.

So, in defense, and in order to carry out our long-time objective of improving the conditions of life and of work of the people, of the wage-earners of America, we are going to be politically active on the basis of a philosophy of rewarding those who feel as we do and opposing those who, we feel, are opposed to us. That, of course, however, does not entail a political party, and I see no political party in the offing.

Q. *Will the merger strengthen labor's position in international affairs?*

A. I think it will strengthen it very much.

Q. *What is organized labor doing to foster and promote the NATO program in the interest of international security?*

A. Well, on the NATO program, of course, we are doing what we can through the instrumentality of the I.C.F.T.U. I am sure that from my talk you would certainly gather that we are interested in NATO and any form of collective security for the free states. We are doing everything we can to cooperate with our government in the field of offshore procurement, which involves the employment of labor in NATO countries for materials that will be used that we could supply, but that are being supplied from these other countries, and also to help them keep up their dollar balance. We are cooperating in every possible way to see to it that that money is spent in such a way as to encourage the non-Communist unions as opposed to the Communist unions.

Q. *What do you think now of the guaranteed annual wage?*

A. If you are talking about the auto settlement, which is a step in the direction of the guaranteed annual wage, I feel that it is of tremendous importance. It is not the amount of money involved, because in the final analysis it doesn't mean too much. But I think what is important is this: Large employers of labor at the col-

lective bargaining table recognize and accept responsibility for some share of the economic effects of employment of their employes. I think that is important. I think that is an important principle.

When I say that large employers of labor accept the responsibility, I have in mind the statement of the Ford Company that the plan adopted by the negotiators was the one drawn up by the technicians and statisticians of the Ford Company itself. So I think that is significant, and I don't think the significance of this vital principle is going to be lost on the other trade unions of the country and workers throughout all industry.

Naturally, the application of this principle, whether you call it a guaranteed annual wage or supplemental unemployment insurance or what-have-you, is something that has got to be worked out by each and every industry. Naturally, it will apply to some industries and not apply to others perhaps to the same extent. But the important thing to me is that industry, a large employer at the bargaining table, has conceded that the adverse economic effects that go with unemployment are to some extent at least a proper charge against the industry itself.

Q. *When you were in Geneva you said W. L. McGrath, U.S. employers' representative, was the Communists' greatest asset. Will you expand on what you mean?*

A. I think first I had better explain that we feel the I.L.O. is the one international instrumentality that has made a real contribution to human welfare over the past thirty years. It was started, as you know, as a result of the Versailles Conference. However, I have no quarrel with anyone who doesn't believe in it. That is their privilege. Now, this Mr. McGrath doesn't believe in the I.L.O., and he says it is "socialistic" and "anti-American" and so on, and it is "completely foreign" to American ideas. But our government is a member of the I.L.O. We pay dues to the I.L.O. You and I and everybody else pay the dues, and our government does. It is a government organization and not a private organization.

I say that if Mr. McGrath doesn't believe in the I.L.O.—and he has stated that publicly, time and time again—he should in all good conscience not accept appointment as a representative of our government at the I.L.O. In other words, he is representing the United States of America as a delegate to an organization of which our nation is a member, and I say that in that capacity he should not act if he does not believe in the I.L.O.

Now, of course, the Russians don't believe in the I.L.O. because it has provided a meeting place for free labor and it has provided a place for the democracies to exchange ideas and to build up conditions of life by international treaty all over the world. That is the purpose of the I.L.O. and that is the thing it has been doing. And it hasn't been doing it spectacularly, but it has been doing it slowly over the past thirty-five years.

Q. *Do the victories in the L. and N. and the Southern Bell strikes mean that the South can be cracked by the unions?*

A. I think that there is a great deal of significance to both of these situations. In the final analysis, I think a worker in the South is just the same as a worker anywhere else. I think that he has the same desires and the same aspirations as any other worker. This propaganda that he does not need much money to live and that, if he doesn't work, somebody of a different color is going to take his place—I think that will wear out some day.

It is just the same as the propaganda that has been foisted on the white-collar workers in this country for a good many years, that: "You are not like a teamster, or a laborer, or a plumber. You are different. You don't need a union. Unions are all right for those fellows." But the white-collar workers are beginning to wake up, and I am pretty sure the South will wake up. I am quite sure that these incidents, the L. and N. strike and the Bell strike, will have some effect on the workers of the South.

A Trade Union Pioneer Is Dead

ONE of the great pioneers of the American labor movement, Frank Duffy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, is dead at 94. He was one of the "grand old men" of U.S. trade unionism—one who had worked side by side with Samuel Gompers to help build the American Federation of Labor. For more than half a century he attended the annual conventions of the Federation. From 1918 to 1940 he was a member of the Executive Council.

Leaders of labor across the nation mourned the passing of Mr. Duffy, who had done an outstanding job for forty-eight years as the secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters. He retired from this office in 1950.

In a telegram to Maurice A. Hutcheson, president of the Carpenters, A. F. of L. President George Meany and A. F. of L. Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler paid tribute to Mr. Duffy's "stalwart faith in the principles" of Gompers and William Green. The message pointed out that "his seasoned judgment, wise counsel and courageous spirit helped carry the American Federation of Labor through many crises."

Born in Ireland, Frank Duffy came to New York when he was 20. He became a carpenter and an active trade unionist. He was one of the leaders long ago of the United Order of American Carpenters and Joiners in New York. He worked closely with Peter J. McGuire, the father of Labor Day.

THE LATE FRANK DUFFY

In 1904 he nominated Samuel Gompers for reelection to the presidency of the American Federation of Labor. After William Green succeeded Gompers in 1924, Mr. Duffy nominated him for the presidency a number of times.

FROM SWEATSHOP TO SUNSHINE

The Story of One Union

By OSSIP WALINSKY

President, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union

IN museums today are relics and articles of leather known to have been made at least 12,000 years ago.

When travel was done chiefly on horseback, small saddlebags were a "must." In the stagecoach period, larger-sized travel bags and small trunks came into use, and with the rapid growth of rail travel in the Nineteenth Century many new types of bags and cases began to be manufactured. Today air travel calls for lightweight travel containers.

Modern travel items—so varied and ingenious—are the products of skilled leather craftsmen of many countries. Americans have been in the forefront for the last three decades.

In ancient Greece and Rome, men and women used leather pouches made of pigskin or moleskin and closed with drawstrings. In the Fifteenth Century bags of all kinds mounted on frames came into use. Through the years when women wore large skirts with voluminous pockets, small purses were the style, but when the more tailored styles eliminated big pockets, the handbag as we know it today—large enough to hold all the articles a woman carries for her personal use—became the fashion.

Ladies' and men's belts and personal leather goods items of numerous kinds date back many centuries. With millions of persons on the move each year and with modern living, modern ways of dress, modern design, modern methods of manufacture and the rise in the standard of living, our trades developed from a humble beginning into trades manufacturing items of daily necessity and almost indispensable accessories for modern men and women.

The handbag, luggage and personal leather goods trades, based on the amount of excise tax collected by the U.S. Treasury Department in 1953, are doing a business at retail of $475,000,000. Ladies' and men's belts,

MR. WALINSKY

frames for all types of luggage, handbags and novelties, as well as other accessory items made of leather or leather substitutes, represent an additional volume business of no less than $125,000,000 a year. It is thus safe to say that the trades we represent make for a volume business of $600,000,000 annually.

Handbag, luggage and personal leather goods workers make up close to 95 per cent of our membership.

HISTORICALLY speaking, the Pursemakers Union of New York City was the pioneer union. That was in 1886, sixty-nine years ago. The first constitution of the union, dated February 1, 1886, was written in the German language. Attached to the constitution was the union price list for piece workers on purses, written in the Jewish language. Here is concrete proof that the German and Jewish leathercraft workers worked in unison to organize a labor union of their craft and to better the lot of the workers in the industry.

Among other union objectives, the first constitution provided:

(1) The aim and object of the union shall be to meet the mutual economic and spiritual needs of its members.

(2) To accomplish its aims and objects the union shall use the following means and methods to enlighten and educate the workers of the industry on the vital necessity of improving their lot:

(a) The arrangement of lectures, discussions, etc., covering topics of economic, trade union and social problems.

(b) The formation of a labor bureau to place members seeking employment, such service to be without charge.

(c) Mutual financial aid.

(d) Relief in need and illness.

(e) Mutual aid among workers to acquire the necessary skills of the trade.

Judge Jacob Panken, now retired, one of the sweatshop workers of the purse trade of yesteryear, is today an honorary member of our Local 1, Pocketbook Workers Union, New York City. Jacob Panken was active for many years as a union organizer of the purse and pocketbook trade. His description of the events and conditions of times past is life itself.

"Many unions in the leather goods industry," he relates, "were organized and as many perished between 1897 and the second decade of the Twentieth Century. The industry was seasonal and the unions were also seasonal.

"Workers in the trade were largely young people. Most of them were enthusiastic in the formation of their organization. Because their members were young and uninformed in the art of organization, because they were young and lacking in patience, the unions were organized, grew for a while and then disintegrated. Every onset of a season saw a new organization; every slack season saw a disin-

tegration. Fifty-nine hours a week were the minimum number of hours for the men and women in the industry. But the workers were not just men and a few women. Many were only children—children twelve years old and maybe younger. They came from homes that needed the few pennies they were able to earn, and the parents perjured themselves to obtain certificates entitling their children to work.

"One shop I remember to this day. My heart weeps and my hatred of the conditions as they then existed is revived when in my mind's eye I see the little girls, eleven or twelve years of age, arriving at the shop in the winter before the break of day, and then working until long after the sun had set, with just a one-half hour intermission for lunch—a lunch hardly adequate to sustain life."

This is a picture of the sweatshop conditions which existed in our trades as well as in the women's apparel trades, of which the purse and pocketbook trade is but an accessory trade.

IN 1911 the newly organized Fancy Leather Goods Workers Union challenged the employers to battle. A strike was called against all employers of the trade in New York City. The strike lasted eight weeks, with many individual shops continuing the strike for six more weeks. The workers were starved into submission. They had no more strength to carry on the fight. The strike was lost.

The union succeeded, however, in effecting settlements with thirty employers, but the employers' association which was in control of the vast majority of the employers prevailed. The union shops soon petered out. The strike victimized many workers. Strikers had been arrested daily during the strike, and the union was not able to provide bail in many cases. The pickets had to battle against gangsters on the picket line.

Jacob Panken, a lawyer at that time, defended the strikers in court but could not attend to all the cases and could not free all the victims against whom trumped-up charges had been filed. The employers' association thus triumphed, and for five more years they were the complete masters of working standards and conditions in the shops—free from all union interference.

On April 3, 1915, a new union was organized — the Travel Goods and Leather Novelty Workers Union. And in 1916 the leather goods workers of New York City were on the march again. Another general strike was called in rebellion against sweatshop conditions and exploitation. Striking Local 11 was an affiliate of the Travel Goods and Leather Novelty Workers Union. The international union gave very little assistance to the strikers. The employers' association, knowing that the union was penniless, forced the workers into surrender after eight weeks of striking.

I had addressed many meetings of the strikers, urging them to keep on fighting, and did everything possible to sustain their morale. But it was all in vain. The general strike committee and the union leadership assured me that while the cause was not lost, the strike was. The shops operated with strikebreakers, and many starving workers crossed the picket lines every day. I was then an officer of one of the local unions of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and had a full measure of trouble in my own union and my own trade—and so I accepted their judgment.

In 1918 I was asked to assume the leadership of the leather goods workers. To begin with, I brought the family of the fancy leather goods workers, the pocketbook workers, the luggage workers and the personal leather goods workers into an organized Joint Board of the East. I was successful in my appeal to the workers to organize. I selected a strategic group of shops from among the many for shop stoppages and individual strikes. And the unbelievable happened. On August 23, 1918, I signed the first collective bargaining agreement in the trade covering all pocketbook and personal leather goods workers in New York City.

Our first union contract we declared our Magna Charta. In it we provided, among other things, for the following:

(1) The union shop was established.

(2) The weekly hours of labor were set at 49 during the first six months of the contract and 48 thereafter. This meant a reduction of 10½ to 11½ hours per week.

(3) Overtime work was to be paid for at the rate of time and one-half.

(4) Payment for three legal holidays was to be made to the workers.

(5) Prices for piecework were to be adjusted and agreed upon between the employer or his representative and a duly selected price committee, elected at a shop meeting of the people of the shop.

(6) Homework was eliminated.

(7) Minimum wage scales for all branches of the trade were established and the principle of equal pay

Unionism has improved the luggage worker's pay and conditions

for equal work without regard for sex was assured.

(8) During the slack season all work, as far as practicable, was to be distributed and divided equally among the workers in the factory.

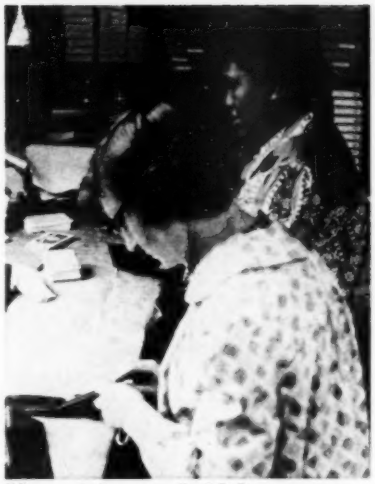
(9) No discrimination because of union activities was to be practiced against any worker.

(10) No individual contracts were to be entered into by the employer with his workers, nor could the employer exact any security of any character from any of his workers.

(11) No arrangements were to be made between the employer and individual workers whereby any system of preference was to be given to any worker over fellow union members.

(12) Permanent machinery was established for the adjustment of complaints and grievances.

We followed up our victory in New York with a general strike against the pocketbook and personal leather goods manufacturers of New Jersey. And in August of 1920 the suitcase, bag and portfolio workers in New York brought their strike against the organized employers of the trade to a successful conclusion.



Many jobs are held by women. Union believes in equal pay

The history of the suitcase, bag and portfolio workers, as well as that of the personal leather goods workers, is about the same as that of the purse, pocketbook and handbag workers. Organized employers and unorganized workers. Seasonal trades and seasonal unions. Sweatshop conditions including child labor and unlimited exploitation of new immigrant workers. Spontaneous revolts and outbreaks against employers. Short or protracted strikes which ended in failure. And, finally, permanent union organization, collective bargaining agreements, union standards and conditions, union machinery for adjustment of complaints and union extension of our jurisdiction to all centers of manufacture of our products in keeping with what we now call the American way of life.

Needless to state, we have gone places since the days of the Greeks and Romans in the manufacture of our products. A pocketbook or handbag is no longer a utility but an item of fashon to complete a woman's wardrobe. Handbags are now made of materials besides leather or textiles. These materials include plastics, straws, beads *(Continued on Page 31)*

They Stormed Ashore

A. F. of L. Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler headed a group of forty leaders of American labor who were in attendance when the might of an amphibious assault was hurled against the beaches of Camp Pendleton, Virginia. Other witnesses included high-ranking U.S. and NATO officers and 575 cadets from West Point.

To conclude the final phase of "Operation Tramid," 1,600 United States marines, 880 midshipmen from Annapolis and forty-five Canadian naval cadets stormed ashore while planes, warships and paratroops provided close support. The operation involved a total of 8,500 men. It concluded two weeks of ashore and afloat training in amphibious warfare for the midshipmen.

Mr. Schnitzler (photo at right) praised those who took part in the highly successful operation. He also commented on the fact that the ships, planes and landing craft used in the operation all were built by skilled American labor. Picture below shows one small part of the landing. The picture of Mr. Schnitzler was made at Camp Pendleton.

Twenty Years of Social Security

(Continued from Page 7)

operation. In that year the Republican candidate made one of his major bids for support by an attack on the Social Security Act. He claimed that it was probably unconstitutional and, at best, represented a frightful regimentation of the American workers.

This candidate was aided and abetted in his attack by a series of full-page newspaper advertisements depicting a rather sad-looking worker, obviously recently bereft of his liberties, carrying a dog-tag around his neck, stamped with a number—with the none too subtle implication it was his social security number. This candidate carried Maine and Vermont. The following year, in the famous case of Helvering versus Davis, the Supreme Court declared the Social Security Act constitutional.

The second attack against the basic principles of the system was made in 1953-54. It was led by the United States Chamber of Commerce. Playing on the popular acceptance of such phrases as "pay as you go" and "ending discrimination among the aged," the Chamber proposed to pay minimum benefits to all aged people, regardless of need and irrespective of past contributions to the system, and to make these payments out of the trust fund, thus shifting about $3,500,000,000 annually from the general taxpayer to the social security payroll taxes.

The Chamber found a vocal, if not too convincing, spokesman in the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives who, immediately after the election of 1952, got himself appointed chairman of a subcommittee to study social security, from which vantage point he carried forward the Chamber's attack. The investigation of social security, however, proved a complete dud, and the chairman, Congressman Carl Curtis of Nebraska, was never even able to get a majority of his committee to sign the report.

Under the first Social Security Act the benefits were to be financed out of a payroll tax based on the first $3000 of annual earnings. The tax was 1 per cent paid by the employer and 1 per cent by the employe, and this was to be increased at two-year intervals until, in 1949, both employer and employe were to pay 3 per cent. However, by a series of amendments, introduced by the late Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, the scheduled increase was prevented from going into operation. In 1947, when the tax rate should have been a total of 5 per cent of covered payroll, only the original 2 per cent was still being collected. The indirect effect of this, of course, was to hold down benefits, and the eleven-year period, 1939 to 1950, passed with no increase in the rate of income and no increase in benefits, despite the upward leaps of living costs and wages. The American Federation of Labor vigorously opposed the adoption of the various Vandenberg amendments. When the matter came up in 1947, we succeeded in having included a resolution calling for the Senate Finance Committee to conduct another inquiry into the social security system, with the assistance of another Advisory Council. As a result, the third Advisory Council was organized and appointed by Senator Millikin of Colorado, and it continued its inquiries for eighteen months in 1947 and 1948. Like its predecessors, it was tripartite in membership, consisting of representatives of the general public, of industry and of labor. The chairman was Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., then rector of the University of Virginia. Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union, C.I.O., and Nelson Cruikshank were the only representatives of labor on this seventeen-man committee.

Out of the recommendations of this committee the amendments of 1950—the second major set of amendments—were developed. These amendments provided increases in benefits both for those then eligible and those to become eligible in future years. The increases represented better than 75 per cent improvement for the nearly 3,000,000 persons then on the benefit rolls and about doubled the benefits for those to become eligible later. The 1950 amendments also brought about 9,500,000 persons under the protection of the system. The wage base was raised from $3000 to $3600, the first increase since the enactment of the program. Also, for the first time, workers in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands were brought under the program.

Secretary Schnitzler heads Social Security Committee

The 1950 amendments, however, included a rider which represented the first serious setback in social security. An amendment to the unemployment compensation title, introduced by Senator Knowland of California, went a long way toward removing the effective authority of the Secretary of Labor in enforcing the labor standards applicable to state unemployment compensation programs, and the protection against using the program as a potential strike-breaking instrument was seriously weakened.

Friends of social security were also disappointed that the Senate removed from the bill the provision for the payment of benefits in cases of per-

Executive secretary of the group is Nelson Cruikshank

manent and total disability. This provision had been adopted by the House.

Under the first reorganization plan of 1953, the Federal Security Agency became the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and a new Cabinet post was created. One of the first acts of the Secretary of the new Department was to appoint another Advisory Council or group of consultants to advise on the extension of coverage of social security. In June, 1953, this group reported to the Secretary, and its report became the basis of the amendments of 1954. The amendments, however, went considerably beyond the mere extension of coverage to the nearly 10,000,000 persons previously excluded. They provided further liberalization of benefits by an improvement in the formula and by raising the wage base for the second time—this time to $4200 per year. They also provided that the benefits, once earned by a worker, would not be lessened as a result of permanent and total disability, and a worker entitled to such protection would be eligible for rehabilitation services.

The American Federation of Labor had urged the payment of benefits to those forced to retire because of physical disability. Up to the time this is being written, however, Congress has not adopted this provision, although proposals currently before Congress would provide payment of benefits to the disabled after age 50.

With the extension of coverage provided in the 1954 amendments, almost all full-time, gainfully employed workers in the United States are now under the protection of either social security, the railroad retirement system or the special system for career civil service employes. The number of jobs covered under the social security system has doubled since the day twenty years ago when President Roosevelt signed the first act.

It would have been impossible twenty years ago to look ahead to the achievements of this time. It is almost as difficult to visualize the massive accomplishment of this program in the alleviation of human distress and in providing for the public welfare. Today, for example, I am told there are some 610,000 families with more than 1,500,000 children receiving help through one of the phases of the whole system of which the public hears very little—the aid-to-dependent-children program. There are 2,500,000 older people receiving aid through the federal-state grant program and 7,300,000 persons receiving monthly old-age and survivors' insurance benefits.

One can understand the vastness of this program by the fact that every hour of the day, every day in the week, month in and month out, on an average, 140 more persons become eligible for benefits under the old-age and survivors' insurance title alone. On an average, eighty-six of them are persons who have reached the retirement age of 65 years and fifty-four are young people with dependent children or dependent parents.

Even our unemployment insurance system, with all its weaknesses and deficiencies, is proving a shock absorber to our economy. In the single month of March, 1955, for example, average weekly payments of a few cents under $25 were going to 1,600,000 unemployed workers, and in that month almost half a million people were placed in jobs in industry through the public employment offices.

Twenty years ago President Roosevelt, signing the Social Security Act, said: "This law, too, represents a cornerstone in a structure which is being built but is by no means complete." In a sense, the designing of social legislation is never complete. The American Federation of Labor is proud of the part we have played in the developing of the system and of our efforts to help it keep pace with the growing needs and the rising living standards of a free people in a free economy. As president of the American Federation of Labor, on this occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the beginning of the program, I pledge this organization to continued efforts to round out the structure of protection for the economic security of the working people of America and their families.

The High Court's Labor Decisions

(Continued from Page 9)

poses settle the matter. There is no way for the union to transfer the dispute to the federal Board, for it seems to be assumed by both parties that the employer has committed no unfair labor practice.

"By today's decision the federal court is powerless to enjoin the state action. The case lingers on in the state court. There can be no appeal to this court from the temporary injunction. Building Union versus Ledbetter Company, 344 U.S. 178. It may take substantial time in the trial court to prepare a record to support a permanent injunction. Once one is granted, the long, drawn-out appeal through the state hierarchy and on to this court commences. Yet by the time this court decides that from the very beginning the state court had no jurisdiction, as it must under the principle of Garner versus Teamsters' Union, 346 U.S. 485, a year or more has passed; and time alone has probably defeated the claim.

"That course undermines the federal regulation; it emasculates the federal remedy; it allows one party to a labor-management controversy to circumvent the law which Congress enacted to resolve these disputes."

Another case decided by the Supreme Court this past court term was Association of Westinghouse Salaried Employes versus Westinghouse Electric Corporation. Involved was Section 301 of the Taft-Hartley Act. Briefly stated, this section authorizes suits for violation of contracts between an employer and a union to be brought in any federal District Court without respect to the amount in controversy and without regard to the citizenship of the parties.

The Supreme Court had before it a situation where the union had filed a suit in a federal District Court against the Westinghouse Corporation for wages claimed to have accrued to the benefit of certain employe-members under collective bargaining agreements between the union and the corporation.

The majority of the court concluded that Section 301 did not confer on the federal courts jurisdiction over such a suit. Four opnions were filed. Justice Frankfurter, who announced the judgment of the court, was joined by Justice Burton and Justice Minton. These justices took the view that Congress, in Section 301, merely gave "procedural direc-

tions to the federal courts," that is to say that Congress, in effect, told District Court judges that when a labor union is a litigant in a suit alleging a breach of collective bargaining agreement, it should "treat it as though it were a natural or corporate legal person and do so regardless of the amount in controversy."

This conclusion, it was thought, presented serious questions regarding the constitutionality of the grant of jurisdiction to federal courts contained in Section 301. The three justices therefore sought to avoid these constitutional problems "through the orthodox process of limiting the scope of doubtful legislation" and limited the scope of Section 301 by holding that Congress did not intend to burden the federal courts with suits in which a union is suing on behalf of employes for accrued wages.

The Chief Justice, with Justice Clark concurring, wrote an opinion agreeing with the decision of the court "but not with all that is said in the opinion." The only question they saw was one of "statutory interpretation," and they concluded that Section 301 was not sufficiently explicit and its legislative history not sufficiently clear to indicate Congressional intent to authorize a union "to enforce in a federal court the uniquely personal right of an employe for whom it had bargained to receive compensation for services rendered his employer."

Justice Reed, in concurring in the judgment of the court, expressed his disagreement with the constitutional doubts raised by the opinion of Justice Frankfurter and stated that the union hal no standing to sue because "the claim for wages for the employes arises from separate hiring contracts between the employers and each employe" and not from a collective bargaining agreement between the employer and the union.

Justice Douglas, with whom Justice Black concurred, dissented from the judgment of the court. Holding that the union should have been allowed to bring the suit, Justice Douglas stated that what the union obtained for the employe members in the collective bargaining agreement it should be entitled to protect and enforce in "the forums which have been provided."

It should be remembered that the Supreme Court did not hold that a union has no standing whatever under Section 301 to bring a suit in a federal court. This decision was limited to the precise facts under consideration, and while labor, I am certain, will be disappointed with this decision, it is authority for the sole proposition that Section 301 does not confer on the federal courts jurisdiction over a suit of the type involved, in which a union sues on behalf of employes for accrued wages claimed to be due those employes.

THE final Supreme Court case to be considered is Brooks versus National Labor Relations Board, also decided during the last court term. The factual pattern in the case is interesting. Shortly after an election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board resulting in certification of a bargaining representative, a majority of the employes notified their employer of their repudiation of the union. Upon learning of this loss of majority by the union, the employer refused to bargain with it. The National Labor Relations Board found that the employer, in thus refusing to bargain, had committed an unfair labor practice.

The Supreme Court, in upholding the Labor Board and affirming the judgment of the Court of Appeals enforcing the Board's order, refused to interfere with the Board's "one year certification" rule. Under this rule the Board has found an unfair labor practice where, during that year, an employer refuses to bargain on the ground that the certified union has lost its majority.

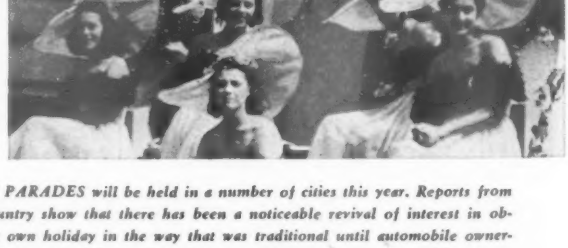
If employes are unhappy with their chosen bargaining representative, said the court, they may submit their own grievance to the Board, and if an employer is perplexed about his duty to bargain, he has the responsibility to petition the Board for relief, but in the meantime he must continue to bargain in good faith at least until the Board "has given some indication that his claim has merit."

Stating that the Board may, if warranted by the facts, revoke a certification or decide not to process an unfair labor practice charge, the Supreme Court held that these are matters for the Board and do not justify "employer self-help or judicial intervention."

This unanimous decision by the Supreme Court should contribute greatly to the stability and efficacy of collective bargaining relationships and be a distinct aid to industrial peace. In those situations where an employer's subtle propaganda and ingenious anti-union tactics result in dissuading his employes from allegiance to the certified union, little benefit will be derived, for he will be unable, under present Board rule, to take it upon himself to refuse to bargain with the union during the certification year.

In comparison with the record made in the past few years, the Supreme Court had a relatively light year in its court term just ended so far as labor cases were concerned. It decided eight cases in which written opinions were filed and three cases in which they were not.

While all of these cases are important to labor, it is believed that the five discussed in this article are of special interest. In offering them for consideration it is hoped that they will furnish helpful guideposts to those dedicated to the cause of labor and the protection and advancement of its just goals and ambitions.



LABOR DAY PARADES will be held in a number of cities this year. Reports from around the country show that there has been a noticeable revival of interest in observing labor's own holiday in the way that was traditional until automobile ownership became widespread. A Labor Day observance of some kind is planned by almost every central labor union. Committees have been appointed and are now hard at work.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

▶A banquet marked the seventieth anniversary of Local 165, Typographical Union, in Worcester, Mass. Charles M. Lyon, the featured speaker, traced the history of the International Typographical Union and called attention to some of its major achievements. He said that the I.T.U. fought tuberculosis "long before medical science even had a name for that dread disease."

▶Angelo Bruzzone, a member of Local 302, Milk Drivers, of Oakland, Calif., has won a scholarship for a year's study at Ruskin College, Oxford, England. He plans to study industrial relations, economics and some philosophy. Jeffery Cohelan, secretary of the same local, returned last year from studies at Leeds University, also in England.

▶Six building trades unions have completed a new agreement in Chattanooga, Tenn., with the local chapter of the Associated General Contractors. The accord, which increases wage rates, covers 3,200 members of the Iron Workers, Carpenters, Teamsters, Laborers, Operating Engineers and Plasterers.

▶Local 261, Tobacco Workers, has completed a new contract with the Rock City Tobacco Company, Quebec City, Canada. The agreement calls for a retroactive wage increase, an improved vacation plan and additional fringe benefits.

▶A wage and welfare package amounting to 32 cents an hour has been obtained by Local 29 of the Iron Workers, Portland, Ore., in a new agreement with the Associated General Contractors and the Steel and Wire Fabricators Association.

▶Local 139, Operating Engineers, Milwaukee, has obtained a wage increase and a larger employer contribution to the union's welfare fund. The new rate for journeymen engineers is $3.17 an hour.

▶Local 1183, Public Employes, has been successful in obtaining a pay increase in Hartford, Conn.

Chicago's William Green School Is Dedicated

At dedication ceremonies a portrait of William Green, late president of the American Federation of Labor, was presented to the elementary school bearing his name by the Chicago Federation of Labor. A piano was also presented to the school. More than 1,200 persons were in attendance. Three daughters of William Green participated in the ceremonies. Holding the portrait at the left is Thomas J. Haggerty, who is secretary of Local 753, Milk Drivers, and also a member of the Board of Education in the nation's second city.

▶Paul L. Phillips, president of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, speaking at the fourteenth annual labor institute sponsored by the Committee on Education of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, gave figures on the concentration of power in newspaper publishing. In 1920, he said, 522 cities had competing newspapers, while today there are only eighty-seven such cities.

▶A two-year agreement has been negotiated by Local 57 of the Operating Engineers and the Rhode Island chapter of the Associated General Contractors. The pay of engineers in the building field is increased now from $118 to $126, with an additional $4 increase next year. Men engaged in tunnel, dock and other special work are hiked $10 now and will receive $4 more in 1956.

▶Members of Milwaukee building trades unions will enjoy paid vacations for the first time this year as a result of negotiations between the unions and contractor groups. The various unions also won wage increases.

▶Winner of the crown and $500 as the 1955 bricklayer apprentice champion in the recent contest held in connection with the Union Label Industries Show was William R. Mikulik of Philadelphia. At the beginning of the contest there were forty-six apprentices in competition. The contest was sponsored by the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

▶Local 402, Culinary and Hotel Service Workers, and Local 500, Waiters and Bartenders, have negotiated a master agreement with the San Diego Tavern Owners Association covering employes of more than 150 taverns and restaurants. The new three-year contract sets up a joint labor-management council and provides for the arbitration of disputes.

▶Three locals of the Chemical Workers have obtained package increases of more than eight cents an hour in agreements with American Cyanamid. They are Local 120, Marietta, Ohio; Local 143, Pearl River, N. Y., and Local 436, Wallingford, Conn.

Teamsters Move Into New Headquarters

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has moved into its beautiful new headquarters building in Washington. The ultra-modern structure is just a short stroll from the Capitol. In the photo at the right, President Dave Beck is seen with a happy group of headquarters office employes.

▶Members of Local 184 of the Electrical Workers, Galesburg, Ill., donated a day recently to wire a building at Camp Pearl on Argyle Lake for the Boy Scouts. Members of the Carpenters and the Plumbers had donated their time in construction of the building before the electricians stepped in to do their part.

▶The Carpenters District Council in Rochester, N. Y., has reached an agreement with the employers' association ending a seven-week strike. In the five-county area affected by the dispute, 1,000 carpenters gained a 20-cent wage hike.

▶A substantial wage boost has been obtained by Local 164, Plasterers and Cement Masons, in Brantford, Ont.

▶Meat Cutters' Local 143 has won $3 weekly wage increases for retail butchers in four Oregon towns.

▶Local 415, Motion Picture Operators, has negotiated agreements with four Tucson, Ariz., drive-in theaters.

▶Drivers who operate charter buses for the East Shore Bus Line of Berkeley, Calif., have been organized by Division 1225, Street Railway Employes. A contract with the company boosts wages 15 cents an hour and also calls for a union shop, two weeks of paid vacation and a system of seniority.

▶Local 370, Typographical Union, has won a wage increase in a new three-year pact at El Paso, Tex. The boost is retroactive to last October.

▶Local 403, Upholsterers, has won a substantial wage increase at the Missouri Casket Company, Omaha, Nebr.

▶Local 357 of the Glass Workers has won a wage increase in Detroit.

▶Training of craftsmen to meet the challenge of automation was discussed by labor, management and government representatives from New York, New Jersey and the six New England states at an apprenticeship conference held at Monticello, N. Y.

▶Contractors of Burlington, Iowa, have agreed to a five-cent hourly wage increase for members of Local 484, Plasterers and Cement Masons.

▶Local 142, Laundry Workers, has signed a first agreement with Swan Cleaners, Brookfield, Ill. A wage increase and vacation plan are included.

▶Local 396, Plasterers and Cement Masons, has won a substantial pay increase at Amarillo, Tex.

The Story of One Union

(Continued from Page 25)

and embroideries of all sorts used in the women's apparel trades.

In the field of travel goods and luggage, all kinds and types of materials are likewise used, including fiberglass, aluminum, tin or what-have-you. In the main, genuine leather and leather substitutes prevail only in the manufacture of personal leather goods items, such as men's and women's wallets, card, key and photograph cases, secretaries, cigarette cases, manicure cases, etc.

The manufacture of handbags, luggage and personal leather goods is being carried on today in some nineteen states. Our international union is in contractual relations with more than 1,000 employers. Cutthroat competition prevails in all our trades. Our shops are very small. The vast majority employ thirty-five to fifty workers. It requires very little capital to go into business in any of our trades—hence, the great mortality, as in other needle trades.

In 1944 a 20 per cent so-called luxury tax was imposed on all products of our manufacture. This tax stymied trade and stopped our further growth. The luxury tax, imposed as a war measure, was to be removed at the cessation of hostilities, but it plagued us until April 1, 1954, when it was reduced to 10 per cent.

For many years handbags, luggage and personal leather goods items have been gift items for Mother's Day, Father's Day, Easter and Christmas. During the months of November and December, in the handbag trade, retailers would do better than 35 per cent of their annual volume of business. The 20 per cent luxury tax caused underemployment and unemployment in our trades as consumers switched from handbags, luggage and personal leather goods items to other gift items. Our union was in the forefront of the fight for the removal of the discriminatory 20 per cent tax and it will continue to fight until the present 10 per cent tax is also removed.

Our trades have suffered in the last two decades because of the runaway shops. Small manufacturing plants are easily moved on the wheels of trucks and trailers to anti-union communities or ghost towns which embrace them with promises and all kinds of inducements, including protection against taxes. The story of our union is also the story of the runaway shops and the costly struggle to follow runaway employers to bring them back into the fold. Only unions which have suffered because of the runaway shops know what it all means and only workers who have lost their jobs and homes in the process know the bitter taste of shop removals.

In the early days of unionization and bitter strikes, when our union was weak and helpless, shop removals were almost a weekly event. They became less frequent when our union grew stronger and able to follow the runaway shops and the selfish and greedy employers bent upon getting rich quickly at the expense of underpaid labor. With the inclusion of a provision in all our contracts against shop removals at least during the life of the contract, shop removals in the main have been arrested. But the problem is still with us.

Last year our union was confronted with a unique case of shop removal. H. Koch and Sons, a luggage manufacturing company which had operated in San Francisco for years, moved its plant to Corde Madera, California. Our Local 31, Leather and Novelty Workers, was soon involved in a bitter strike with the company. The strike lasted sixteen weeks. What made this struggle different was the fact that off-duty Air Force personnel in that locality had taken jobs as strikebreakers with the company. It was only through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor and its officers, President Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler, that the powers that be in Washington finally ordered the withdrawal of the Air Force men from the struck factory. Then the strike was settled on terms and conditions favorable to the union.

A belt worker must have skill

Our trades, particularly the handbag and personal leather goods trades, have suffered because of foreign dumping on our home markets. This cutthroat competition has come from Japan where workers have a minimum wage of between 9 cents and 19 cents an hour, from Puerto Rico where the minimum wage is between 21 cents and 45 cents an hour, from France, Italy and Germany where the working hours are 48 to 54 hours a week and the wage scales less than one-half those of our own workers and from countries of our own hemisphere, Cuba, Argentina, the Bahamas. Small wonder that Germany, for example, doubled its export business to the United States in 1951 and again in 1952 and again increased it tremendously in 1953.

Our union believes that what is good for America is good for all labor of our country, including the workers of our own trades, but foreign dumping and cutthroat competition are not in the national interest.

Since 1934 the tariffs on handbags have been reduced from 35 per cent to 17½ per cent on bags made of reptile, from 35 per cent to 20 per cent on bags made of other leathers and from 50 per cent to 25 per cent on straw and basket handbags. And yet more hardship threatens that vital branch of our trades—the ladies' handbag and pocketbook trade—with the sponsorship by the White House of legislation calling for further tariff reductions. Unfair foreign competition and the resultant threat of joblessness naturally cause concern to our union.

But the show must go on. Our union is a progressive and forward-looking labor organization keeping abreast of the times and stepping in unison with the vanguard of the labor movement. Adverse conditions notwithstanding, we have sought to improve the lot of all workers of our industry in all parts of the country. We have succeeded in many cases in securing wage increases and in concentrating on health and welfare benefits for our members. Some of our locals, such as the Pocketbook Workers, New York, Local 1, and the Luggage Workers, New York, Local 60, have been able to secure retirement pension benefits for more than 12,000 of their members—and many of our other local affiliates will follow suit.

Our union is a party to the no-raiding agreement of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. We have also signed the internal disputes plan of the American Federation of Labor so that jurisdictional disputes may be adjusted in a brotherly, trade union manner. Our international union knows the impact of jurisdictional fights. We have received sympathetic understanding and brotherly help from the International Association of Machinists, which transferred a shop of pocketbook workers in Ithaca, New York, under its control to our international union. We have received similar generous treatment from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, which made possible the transfer of an important luggage shop in Utica, New York, under its control to our international union.

Our international union has also been treated most fairly by the C.I.O., and its president, Walter Reuther, was instrumental on more than one occasion in causing the settlement of jurisdictional disputes which had arisen between affiliates of our international and unions of the C.I.O.

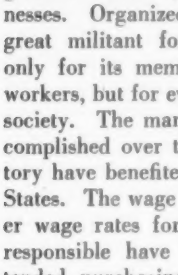
We consider the no-raiding agreement and the internal disputes plan historic milestones in the life of American labor. The present administration of the American Federation of Labor will forever be praised for these achievements.

The study of our newly born American trades and the way of life of our modern union discloses much data of which the unity convention of June, 1951, recording the merger of the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union and the mother union of the ladies' handbag trade and of the personal leather goods workers—the Pocketbook Workers Union, New York—must not be overlooked. Our united union, seeking a new name in keeping with present trends in our trades, applied to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. At its February meeting the Council approved the change of title from the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union to the International Leather Goods, Plastic and Novelty Workers Union. The coming convention of the A. F. of L. will be called upon to ratify this change. We are confident of favorable convention action.

WHAT THEY SAY

A. J. Hayes, *president, International Association of Machinists*—I neither approve, defend nor condone the wrongs which have been committed by individuals or organizations within the labor movement. I do say, with emphasis, and from personal knowledge and experience, that the great good which organized labor has accomplished far outweighs its publicized and exaggerated mistakes, faults and weaknesses. Organized labor has been a great militant force for good—not only for its members, not only for workers, but for every segment in our society. The many things it has accomplished over the years of its history have benefited the whole United States. The wage increases and higher wage rates for which unions are responsible have increased and extended purchasing power and have stimulated business by the resultant increased demand for services and products. Shorter hours, vacations and paid holidays have reduced unemployment and have contributed to advanced education and culture and have permitted more and more of our people to find the tranquillity and happiness proclaimed as our goal in the preamble of our Constitution.

James G. Patton, *president, National Farmers Union*—The National Farmers Union, the nation's fastest growing farm organization, urges enactment of legislation to increase the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour. We further urge that the minimum wage law be extended in order to afford protection to 6,500,000 workers who are not now covered. The economic welfare of farmers and city people is completely interwoven. There are, in this nation of ours, children who are underfed and ill-clothed. There are homes with inadequate furnishings and substandard construction. There are persons unable to afford adequate medical care, and there are persons whose children are in grave danger of being added to the growing list of juvenile delinquents. The minimum wage level recommended by President Eisenhower and Secretary of Labor Mitchell is grossly unrealistic and out of step with present-day living costs. It still amounts to slow starvation for the unfortunate families whose income is set at the minimum. We must press forward now with wage legislation more nearly approximating a decent American standard of living.



Luigi Antonini, *vice-president, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union*—Figures forged in human blood have smeared the highway picture of America. Can we truly believe we have harnessed the forces of nature when we produce such statistics as 36,000 automobile deaths in 1954 and injuries totaling 1,250,000? If the number of $100 bills representing the medical costs, material damage and repairs were laid end to end, you could drive along a continuous green line from New York to Nome, Alaska, and still have 1,000 miles to go before coming to the end of the sordid $6,000,000,000 stretch. It sounds like the statistics of war—so many killed, so many wounded, so much destroyed. The solution is not to outlaw automobiles. The remedy is responsibility—responsibility in maintaining the sound condition of a machine and responsibility in handling it. If it is so dangerous to ride in an automobile, one might ask, isn't it better and safer to stay home? Yes, but not much safer. Compared to the 36,000 auto deaths in 1954, there were 28,000 deaths from accidents in the home—28,000 deaths which could have been prevented. In marked contrast, the death toll from hurricanes last year was a scant fifty. We have harnessed the forces of nature, but nature has been kinder to us than we have been to ourselves.

John F. Shelley, *Congressman from California*—The people of Italy deserve recognition by the United States and the rest of the free world for the part they have played in resisting the encroachment of Communist totalitarianism, despite the real danger that Italy faces by virtue of its nearness to the areas already swallowed up as satellites. In spite of the ever-present threat, the people of Italy have come through nobly in defense of their freedom and have made a great contribution to holding back the tide which threatens Western Europe. It is my firm belief that they will continue to remain strong on the side of democracy. My faith in the future of democracy in Italy rests on my own observation of the many contributions to the American tradition made by Italian immigrants and their descendants in America, and particularly by those who make up such an active and important part of the population of San Francisco. They have brought to us the best of Italy's remarkable culture and have succeeded in blending it with our way of life so as to add luster to both.

Mrs. C. F. Waggoner, Jr., *wife of a striking trade unionist, St. Helens, Oregon*—I want my children to know what it is like to stand on the picket line and know what a scab is. When they grow up and work they will remember what we've tried to teach them: That money is not the most important thing in the world, that love for one's fellow-man, honesty and backbone are far more important. After all, had it not been for men like these who are willing to fight for principle, wages would definitely not be what they are today and working conditions would certainly be rough. Unionism gives millions of workers a sense of dignity, independence, achievement, a measure of security and hope of a better life. Unionism has been the principal instrument of the working man in protecting himself against exploiters.

THE JUNIOR UNION STORY *By ANNABEL LEE GLENN*

A Lucky Girl Was She

MILDRED was 16. She stood at the edge of the porch by the railing which gleamed whitely in the moonlight. This was her last night of vacation, and she was wishing with all her heart that it was only the middle. Not the beginning, she thought. That would mean she hadn't met Jonesy yet, and the whole thing would be a total loss without him in the picture. Jonesy was a boy, and he was 17.

Her reverie was interrupted by a low whistle from the path which wound along below the porch.

"I'm up here," she answered softly, and in a moment Jonesy joined her.

"I was afraid I wouldn't get to see you tonight," said the boy. "Mom and Dad said Bud and I had to stay in and catch up on some of our summer reading which we haven't looked at yet. Bud put up a big argument and that got Dad upset. Then Dad got stern and sent him to bed. I just picked up my books and went to my room when I saw how futile Bud's argument had been. Then about ten minutes ago Dad decided to send me here to the hotel to get him some cigarettes and the late edition of the paper, so here I am. I can't stay but a little while, because Dad will be wanting the paper. I ran all the way down so I'd have a little time, and I can run all the way back and save a few more minutes that way. Let's walk around to the side garden. I want to give you my home address so you'll be sure to write to me."

"Oh, I will write to you," Mildred said. "And I want to thank you for being so nice to me all week. I've loved every minute of it here since we met by the pool."

"Me, too," said Jonesy. "Here, I've written my address on this piece of paper. We won't be home for another week, but I'll be hoping for a letter when we do get back."

"Do you remember my street and number?" Mildred asked. "I'll want mail, too, you know."

"Sure, your house is just two doors away from my cousin Jack's, and the number is 323 Jefferson. Right?"

"Yes, and don't write to Jack by mistake," she said with a laugh.

"I should say not," said the boy. "Well, I'll just have to go now. Listen, Millie, don't forget about me and the good times we've had here, and I'm sure I'll get to your town to visit Jack, and we'll see each other again. I've got to go now."

The boy started for the path by which he had come.

"Oh, Jonesy," she called after him. "You forgot the cigarettes and the paper."

He turned and came back to her. They went into the lobby of the resort hotel where he made the purchases he had been sent for. Then Mildred walked to the porch with him.

"Aunt Jane and I leave on the 7:10 bus," she said. "So this is really goodbye."

"Well, goodbye for now," he told her, giving her hand a squeeze. "I'll see you before too long."

She leaned over the railing and waved good night to him in the moonlight. He turned and sprinted up the path toward the cottage his family was living in.

Mildred was still on the porch when her Aunt Jane came looking for her half an hour later and said:

"Come, dear. We must get to bed. We make an early start, you know."

"All right, Aunt Jane," said Mildred, dreamily. "I'm ready."

Early the next morning there was a knock at the door of their room.

"Must be time to get up," murmured Aunt Jane, slipping into her robe.

"There's a strike on the bus line, ma'am," said the bellboy in a soft voice. "No need for you to get up to catch the 7:10 because she's not running today."

"*Not running!*" exclaimed Mildred, sitting up in bed. "Oh, how *wonderful!*"

"May not be running for several days," said the bellboy. "The drivers have been asking for a little more money and getting nowhere, and now they're asking for a raise and a relief driver part of the way. They are all set to stay out until they get the raise at least, and maybe they'll get the relief, too. I've got to wake up a few more guests and tell them to go back to sleep. See you later."

Aunt Jane closed the door.

"Mildred, what do you mean saying the strike is wonderful?"

"Well, being the daughter of a good trade unionist, I'm naturally on the side of the employes. I know they have been having some rough going lately, and the strike isn't exactly a surprise. The wonderful part is that it happened while we are still here and not back home where it wouldn't do me any good at all."

"How can a strike do you, a 16-year-old schoolgirl, any good?" Aunt Jane asked.

"It's just because I'm a 16-year-old girl, and Jonesy is a 17-year-old boy, and he's going to be here another whole week. That's why being here even one more day is just wonderful. And then, too, I certainly hope the drivers get their pay increase."

"No doubt you're worried to death over the pay increase," Aunt Jane said with a mischievous smile. "You had better get up now so you can be at the pool when Jonesy gets there for his morning swim."

The American Federation of Labor will be glad to send worthwhile free literature about labor to any girl or boy who is interested. To obtain this free material, please mail your name and address to Junior Union, 901 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington 1, D. C.